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ABSTRACT

This chartbook documents with extensive charts what happened between 1970-75 in improving job opportunities for women, with special emphasis on the progress made in business. Employment data come from census, payroll, report, and survey information. Section 1 considers male-female employment profiles (1970, 1975) for the whole economy. Section 2 compares the corporate sector to all other sectors, including comparative employment patterns of men and women by sector: women's share of jobs by occupation and sector in 1970, 1972, 1975; and changes in male-female employment patterns in the corporate sector (1970, 1975). The final section deals with what has been happening to women within the corporate sector. The 1970 (or 1972) and 1975 male-female employment and occupational patterns are examined from three perspectives: (1) within broad industry categories based on goods or services being produced (manufacturing; public utilities; trade; finance, insurance, and real estate; mining and construction), (2) within male-intensive versus female-intensive industries, and (3) for certain nontraditional jobs by women. Three sets of charts are presented whenever possible in this section so that the same kinds of information can be considered for companies of different sizes. (YLB)

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Improving Job Opportunities for Women

A Chartbook Focusing on the Progress in Business

by
Ruth Gilbert Shaeffer
and
Helen Axel

CE 026 514

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

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THE CONFERENCE BOARD

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Foreword

A MAJOR TREND toward greater equality in the roles and status of men and women has become apparent throughout the world, especially in the developed countries. In the United States it has already had important impacts on the economy. It has increased the supply of women workers available to do the many different kinds of paid jobs that are needed to produce goods and services, and it has changed the nature of our unemployment problems. As the other side of the same coin, there have been significant effects on both the total amount and the distribution of disposable income available to individuals and to families to buy what has been produced.

The stringent federal laws and regulations dealing with nondiscrimination in employment that were enacted in the mid-1960's have reinforced this trend. With limited exceptions, equality of opportunity for all protected groups—including women—is called for in filling job openings at all levels, subject only to qualifications that are clearly relevant to job performance.

The Conference Board has assumed a leadership role in keeping the business community informed about these important changes. We expect a continuing information development and dissemination program to be needed in this area for many years—possibly greater than our own limited resources can sustain.

We wish to thank the Rockefeller Family Fund, The Ford Foundation, and Mobil Oil Corporation for grants helping to support this particular research project.

Appreciation is also due to the following employer associations for their help in encouraging a sufficient response to our Conference Board survey so that some of the employment data gathered from very large companies could be considered separately by broad industry categories:

Airline Industrial Relations Conference
American Gas Association
American Trucking Association
Association of American Railroads
Bank Administration Institute
Edison Electric Institute
National Association of Broadcasters
National Retail Merchants Association

It should, of course, be noted that none of these funders or helpful employer associations is responsible for the design or conduct of this Conference Board study or for the interpretation of the results. The study was designed and carried out as a joint project by Ruth Gilbert Shaeffer, Senior Research Associate in our Management Research Division which is under the direction of Harold Stieglitz, and by Helen Axel, Economist in our Economics Division, which is under the direction of Edgar R. Fiedler.

In all of our research we are especially indebted to the many individuals and organizations that provide us with data. This is even more true than usual for this study, for the topic is an extremely sensitive one. The Conference Board is grateful that so many major corporations trust it to carry out this kind of research well and to maintain the strictest confidentiality.

KENNETH A. RANDALL
President

By Way of Introduction

THE MID-1960's MARKED A WATERSHED in this country's approach to the appropriate employment of its full array of human resources. The fact is that up until then virtually all the higher paying, more desirable jobs and leadership roles in our society had been reserved not just to a certain group of whites, but to white *males*. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the related Executive Orders 11246 and 11375 mandated an end to the discriminatory distribution of employment opportunities, not only on the basis of race, color, religion and national origin, but also on the basis of sex. By 1972, these nondiscrimination-in-employment requirements had been extended to all sectors of the economy.

The results-oriented definition of what constitutes employment discrimination that was adopted in Title VII was given unanimous approval by the Supreme Court in 1971.[1] Because it requires employers to justify their continued use of policies and practices that have an adverse effect on the employment opportunities provided to any protected group, it has posed fundamental questions about the genuine qualifications needed to perform different kinds of jobs. By now many superficial explanations of why women and members of minority groups should be limited to certain jobs and excluded from others have been questioned and found wanting.

When the federal nondiscrimination laws and regulations first went into effect, many major employers assumed they were largely irrelevant to them—that this was just one more example of needless governmental meddling in the essentially sound, well-run affairs of their organizations. But over the years this attitude has changed. More and more employers have come to recognize that some of their seemingly neutral staffing policies and practices do indeed have the effect of unnecessarily excluding qualified women and minorities from the better jobs.[2] They have discovered that a considerable number of time-honored employment policies and procedures are largely irrelevant to their own business purposes and—even worse—that some are actually dysfunctional. Taking positive steps to change such practices not only improves the job opportunities being provided to protected groups; it also contributes to the safe and efficient operation of the business.

In the early years following passage of the law, most employers focused almost all of their attention on improving the job opportunities they provided to minorities. Sex discrimination had been included in the law almost inadvertently, and it was regarded as a somewhat frivolous issue. But when the costly AT&T consent agreement was signed in January, 1973, employers were abruptly reminded that they were also required to provide equal employment opportunity for women.

Despite some real misgivings about how the various laws and regulations are being administered, many major employers now say that they find no incompatability between the basic thrust of the nondiscrimination requirements and what sound business policy and practice dictate. They say that equal employment opportunity makes good business sense; that this country can no longer afford to waste such a valuable natural resource as the vast pool of human potential our various minorities and females represent. Together these protected groups account for just about half the civilian work

[1] *Griggs v. Duke Power Co.* 401 U.S. 424 (1971).

[2] Only some of the implications of the federal nondiscrimination laws and regulations are discussed in this particular report. It is important to note that they cover *all* aspects of the employment relationship, not just initial hiring and other staffing actions. See *Nondiscrimination in Employment, Changing Perspectives 1963-1972*, Conference Board Report No. 589 (1973); and *Nondiscrimination in Employment, 1973-1975, A Broadening and Deepening National Effort*, Conference Board Report No. 677 (1975), both by Ruth Gilbert Shaeffer.

force, and, as thoughtful business leaders note, we simply must take proper advantage of their finest talents and skills.

About the Chartbook

This chartbook is the first in a planned series of reports on the progress that is being made in utilizing our country's full array of human resources more appropriately. It focuses on the largest of all the previously overlooked groups, the women, who now make up over 40 percent of the work force. It documents what happened between 1970 and 1975 in improving job opportunities for women, with special emphasis on the progress made in business.[3]

There has been change. Women are, indeed, beginning to move into some of the better paying, higher status occupational categories in larger numbers, especially in some major companies. By 1975, the change process had not been in effect long enough to have made major differences in the overall configuration of women's employment patterns. But it is clear that if the new staffing flows continue, they will yield significantly different occupational profiles for women. On the other hand, experts warn it is likely to be many decades before women and men share equally in top decision-making roles in high-technology industries and in certain other heavily male-dominated job categories.[4] Some doubt that it will ever happen.

Factors Influencing the Change Process

The changes in male-female employment patterns that occurred between 1970 and 1975 are by no means simple. They are the result of the interplay of many socio-economic trends, technological developments, and cyclical influences in addition to employer efforts to comply with the federal nondiscrimination laws and regulations. This study demonstrates that these changes also differ considerably based on the existing circumstances in different sectors of the economy; in different kinds of industries within the business sector; in different sizes of companies within each industry; in different occupational categories; and also in relation to the initial proportions of men and women in the work force. Knowing about such differences may help individual companies to determine: (1) where their own change effort is likely to yield relatively prompt results; (2) where they may need to make greater efforts; and (3) where they may need to plan for sustained effort based on longer range strategies for achieving gradual change.

[3] A subsequent volume will describe the general nature of the corporate change effort for women and will summarize what has been learned thus far about how to make such efforts more successful.

[4] For a fuller discussion of such matters, see *Monitoring the Human Resource System*, Conference Board Report No. 717 (1977), by Ruth Gilbert Shaeffer.

A Methodological Note

Several different kinds of employment data have been used in preparing this chartbook:

(A) 1970 data from the U.S. Census of Population.

(B) 1970, 1972, and 1975 data from the Current Population Survey (CPS) of households, including unpublished data.

(C) 1970 and 1975 payroll data from surveys of establishments conducted by the U.S. Department of Labor.

(D) 1970 and 1975 U.S. summaries of all EEO-1 reports by industry published by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

(E) 1970 and 1975 Consolidated EEO-1 reports submitted to The Conference Board by a matched sample of 111 very large, but not necessarily typical, companies in certain industries. The companies are among those listed in the various *Fortune* lists, plus other very large members of certain employer associations.

(F) Survey information from 209 very large companies with respect to 1970-1975 changes in their employment of women for certain clearly nontraditional jobs.

We have tried to keep this diversity of source material in mind in preparing the chartbook, and readers are urged to proceed cautiously in making their own additional comparisons.

It should especially be noted that the Census and the Current Population Survey (CPS) data are obtained from households, while the other kinds of data we used are obtained from employers. Data for the same year from these two sources will differ because the former is a count of persons working while the latter is a count of jobs held. In addition, employer statistics by definition exclude self-employed workers; they are included in the household series.

As a further complication, the Census and the CPS data themselves are not fully comparable. The 1970 Census figures on detailed occupations and industries were taken from a 20 percent sample of the population, collected at a specific time (April, 1970) primarily through mailed questionnaires. Thus, they are susceptible both to seasonal influences on employment and to errors in self-enumeration. The CPS data, on the other hand, are gathered by trained interviewers from a relatively small sample of households (50,000) surveyed each month for labor force information. Results for all the months in the year can be averaged to obtain a more stable aggregate figure for the year, but there often is still considerable variability involved. Furthermore, since the occupational classifications used in this survey were not reconciled to the 1970 Census classification system until 1972, no direct comparisons can be made of data within this series between 1970 and 1975.

Although the summary statistics from the EEOC for business and in-

dustry present no discrepancies in definitions when aggregated into the broad industrial classifications used in this chartbook, a comparability problem probably exists between the two years with regard to coverage. All employers with 100 or more employees (and government contractors with 50 or more employees) are required to file EEO-1 forms. Smaller employers' compliance with the filing requirement was undoubtedly greater in 1975 than in 1970, when the law was still relatively new. Thus, although EEOC data dealing with the proportions of women in various categories in different years are likely to be sound, the growth figures for some occupations and industries in the EEOC statistics presented in this book may be somewhat exaggerated.

On the other hand, the EEO-1 statistics for 1970 and 1975 from the very large companies participating in the CB Survey are precisely matched for year-to-year comparability, so even the growth figures will be sound. (Survey companies that indicated major acquisitions or mergers were excluded.) Here the problem is one of representativeness. We must assume that these companies are not necessarily typical of all very large companies in their industries. Nonetheless the information they supplied is important, for they are leading companies that employ millions of persons.

By analyzing and comparing the available data in various ways, we have been able to present information about the job opportunities being provided to women in various occupational categories in the period from 1970 to 1975 in terms of the following successive frames of reference:

- The economy as a whole
- The corporate sector compared with all other sectors
- Within the corporate sector:

(1) By industry, based on what is being produced

(2) By industry, based on the male-female composition of the work force

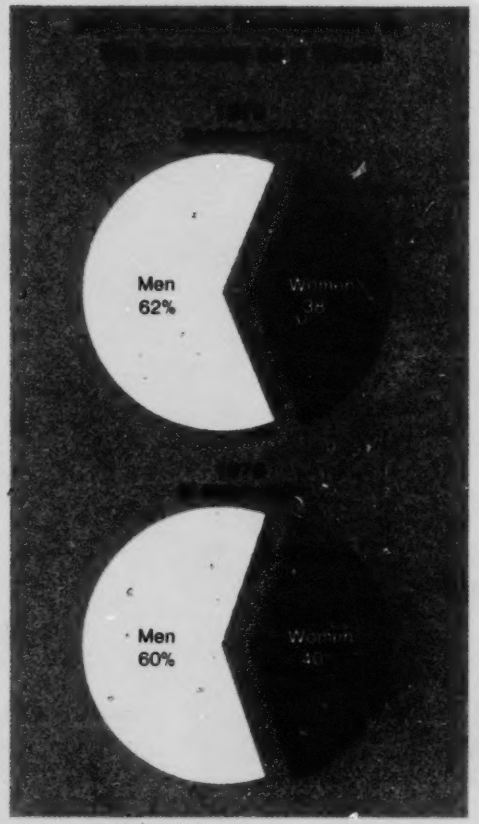
(3) On certain important nontraditional jobs.

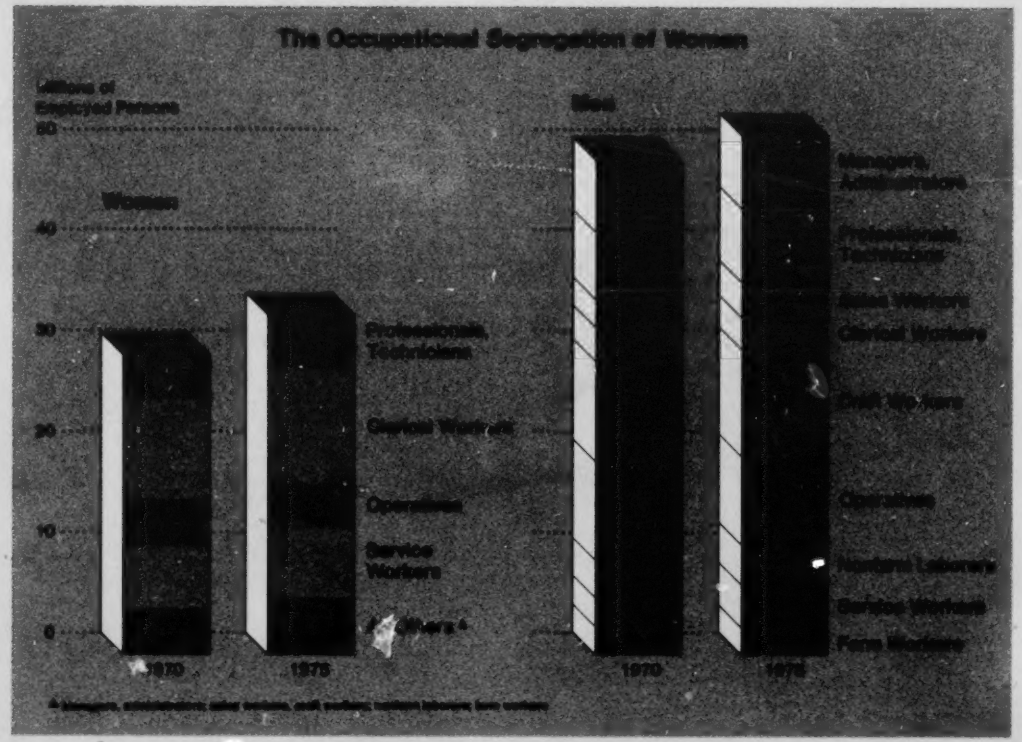
Moreover, in presenting information about what has been happening within certain industries, we have been able, by comparing the patterns in data from different sources, to shed some light on the effect company size may have had on the job opportunities being provided for women during this period.

Because we expect this chartbook will be used in a variety of settings, we have tried to keep the number of footnotes to a minimum. The data sources for each chart are shown by lettered reference to those listed at the beginning of this methodological note. Those who have questions about specific statistics or about our methodology in dealing with the data are invited to contact the authors at The Conference Board.

The Economy as a Whole

WHEN the 1970 Census was taken there were 29 million women employed in the United States, and they accounted for 38 percent of the total work force. By 1975, CPS data showed that the number of working women had increased to nearly 34 million, and their proportion of total U.S. employment had increased to 40 percent. On the face of it, this might seem to indicate that some progress had been made in improving





the job opportunities provided to women over the five-year period. But the number of women wanting to work has been growing rapidly, too, and providing women with more jobs does not necessarily mean providing them with better jobs.

The characteristic feature of our very large female labor force has been—and continues to be—severe occupational segregation. Unlike the men, most women workers are crowded into a relatively narrow range of lower paying, less desirable occupations. They are also heavily concentrated within certain industries that rely heavily on these occupations. Despite recent efforts to broaden the range of occupational roles available to women, "traditionally female" occupations still persist, and the overall employment profiles of women workers continue to be quite separate and distinct from those of males.

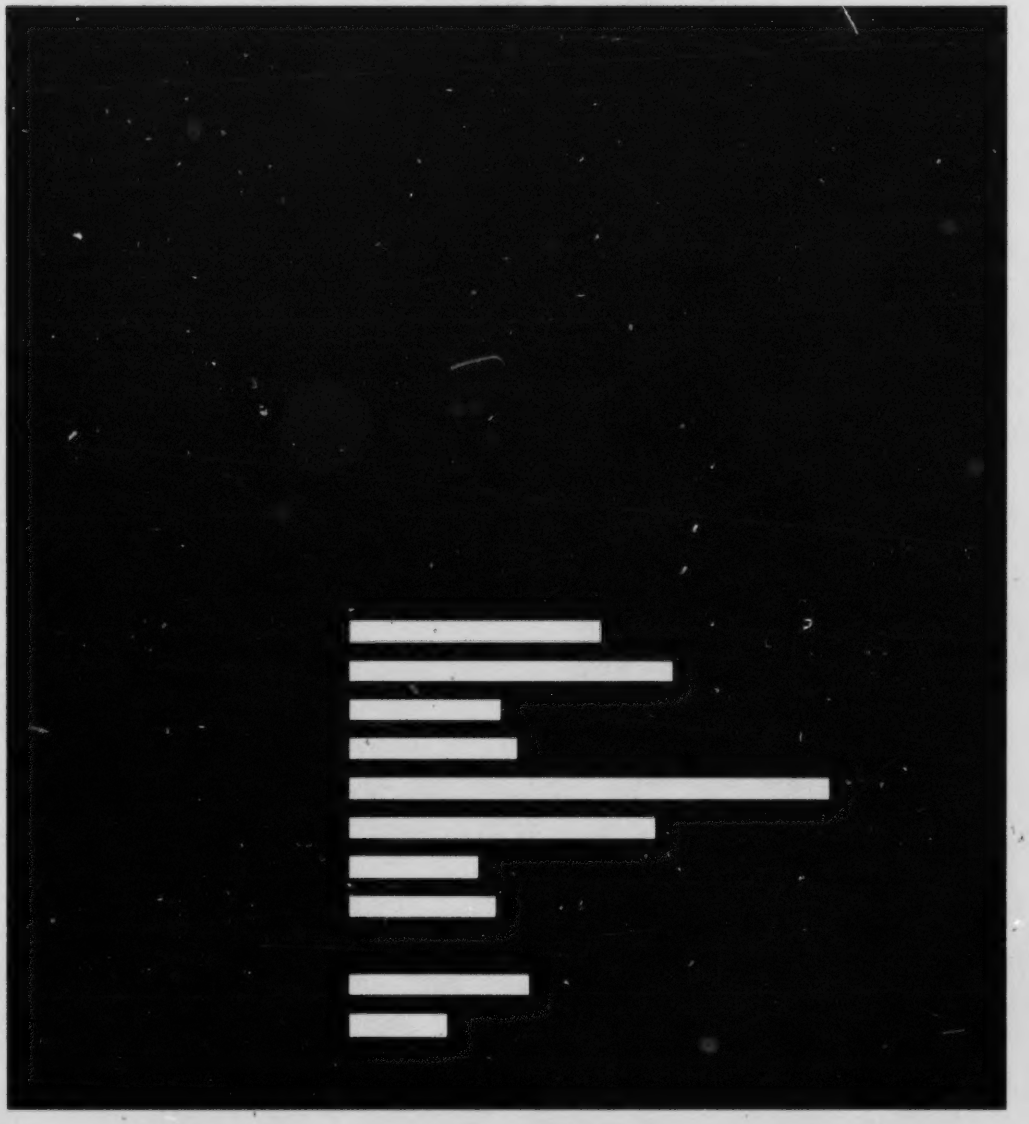
And yet, as subsequent information in this chartbook amply demonstrates, in response to many economic, social, and legal

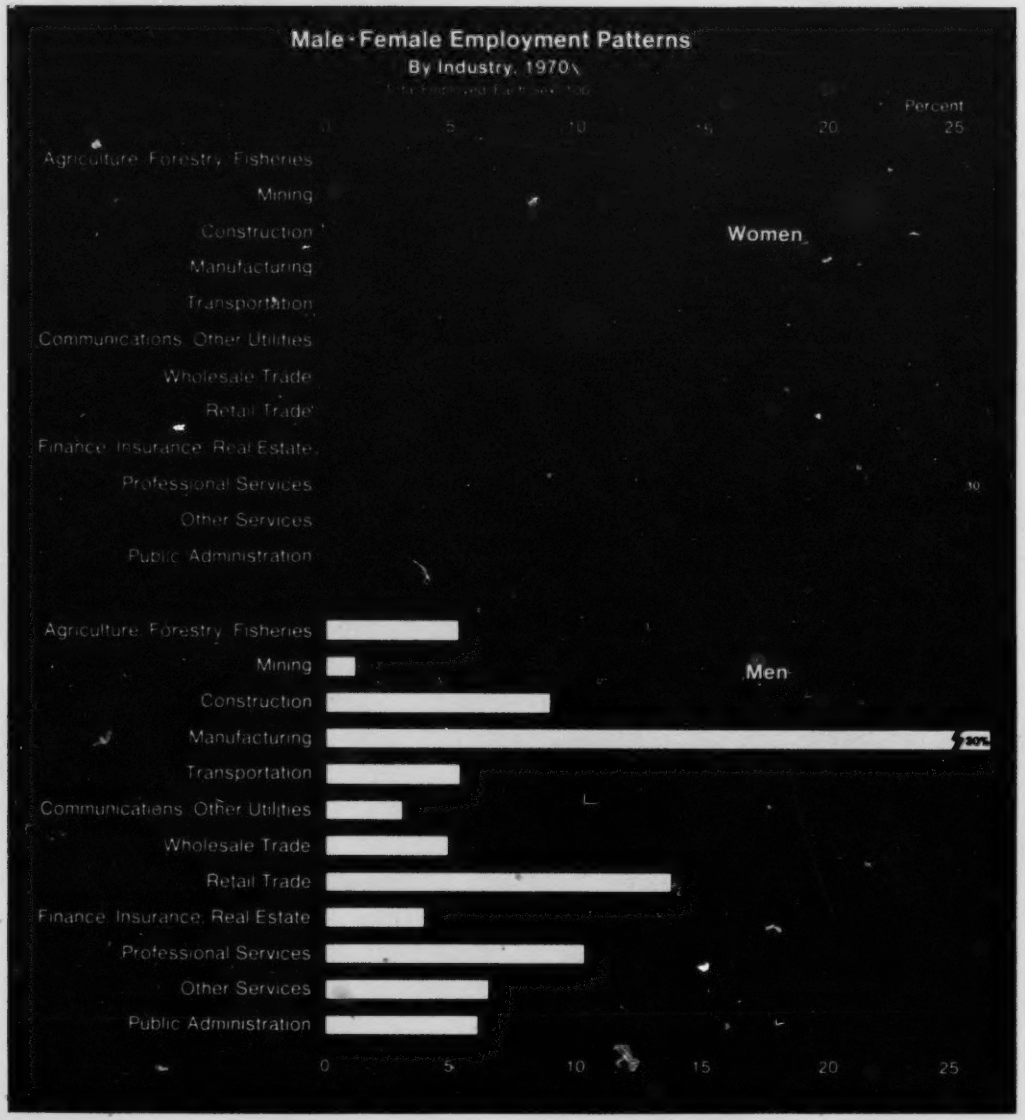
pressures, an important change has begun in the way in which women in the work force are being utilized in certain parts of the economy. Even though this change process is still too new to have resulted in striking differences in the overall employment patterns of women, between 1970 and 1975 there were some notable improvements in the job opportunites being provided to them.

A more detailed look at the employment patterns of men and women in 1970, both by industry and by occupation, provides necessary background information for understanding the changes that had occurred by 1975.

Male-Female Employment Patterns in 1970

In 1970, four major occupational categories—clerical, service, professional and operative—included 82 percent of all female workers. Clerical work was by far the largest category: 35 percent of all working women were employed as secretaries, bookkeepers, typists, or performed some other kind of office work. Service workers outside the household accounted for another 17 percent, while those who worked as semiskilled operatives made up 14 percent of the total. Sixteen percent of the women worked as professionals. Thus only 18 percent of the women were distributed among all the other major occupational categories used by the Census—in managerial and administrative roles; in various kinds of sales work; in the skilled trades; in various other forms of blue-collar activity, such as transport operatives or unskilled laborers in industry;





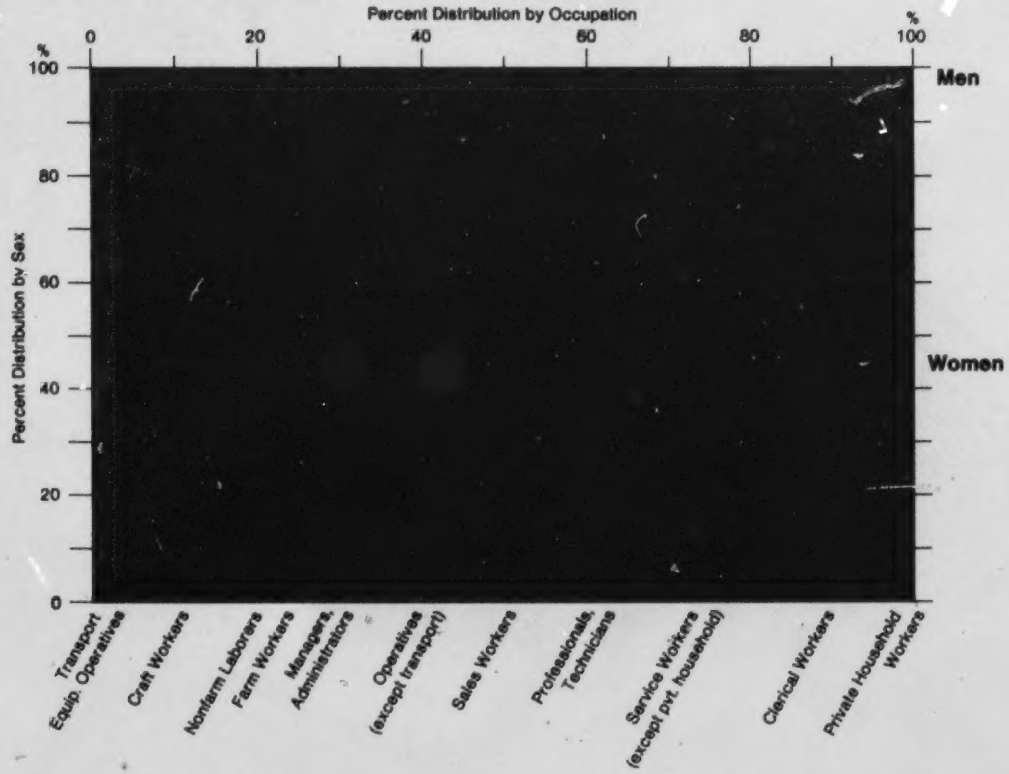
as paid household workers; or as farm workers.

By contrast, the 1970 occupational distribution for men was much more widely dispersed. Their top four occupational categories were craft, operative, professional and managerial; but all told these accounted for only 65 percent of the total male work force. (Forty percent of the men worked in skilled and semiskilled blue-collar jobs; another 25 percent held professional and managerial positions.) The rest of the men (35 percent) were well scattered among the remaining broad occupational groups used by the Census.

Because of the relationship between occupations and the industries in which people work, the distribution of male and female workers by broad industrial categories in 1970 offers no real surprises. Generally speaking, the male workers were predominantly in the goods-producing industries, where the greatest number of blue-collar jobs are located. Forty percent of all employed men in 1970 worked in manufacturing, construction and mining; but only about 20 percent of the employed women did so. Nearly three-fifths of all the women held jobs in retail trade and in professional and other service industries; only 30 percent of the male work force was similarly employed.

The accompanying histogram provides an overview of the distribution of men and women by broad occupational groupings in 1970. The width of each bar indicates the relative size of that occupational category in the whole U.S. economy, while the vertical division of the bar indicates the proportion of women and men in it. Accordingly, the

Proportion of Men and Women in Broad Occupational Categories, 1970



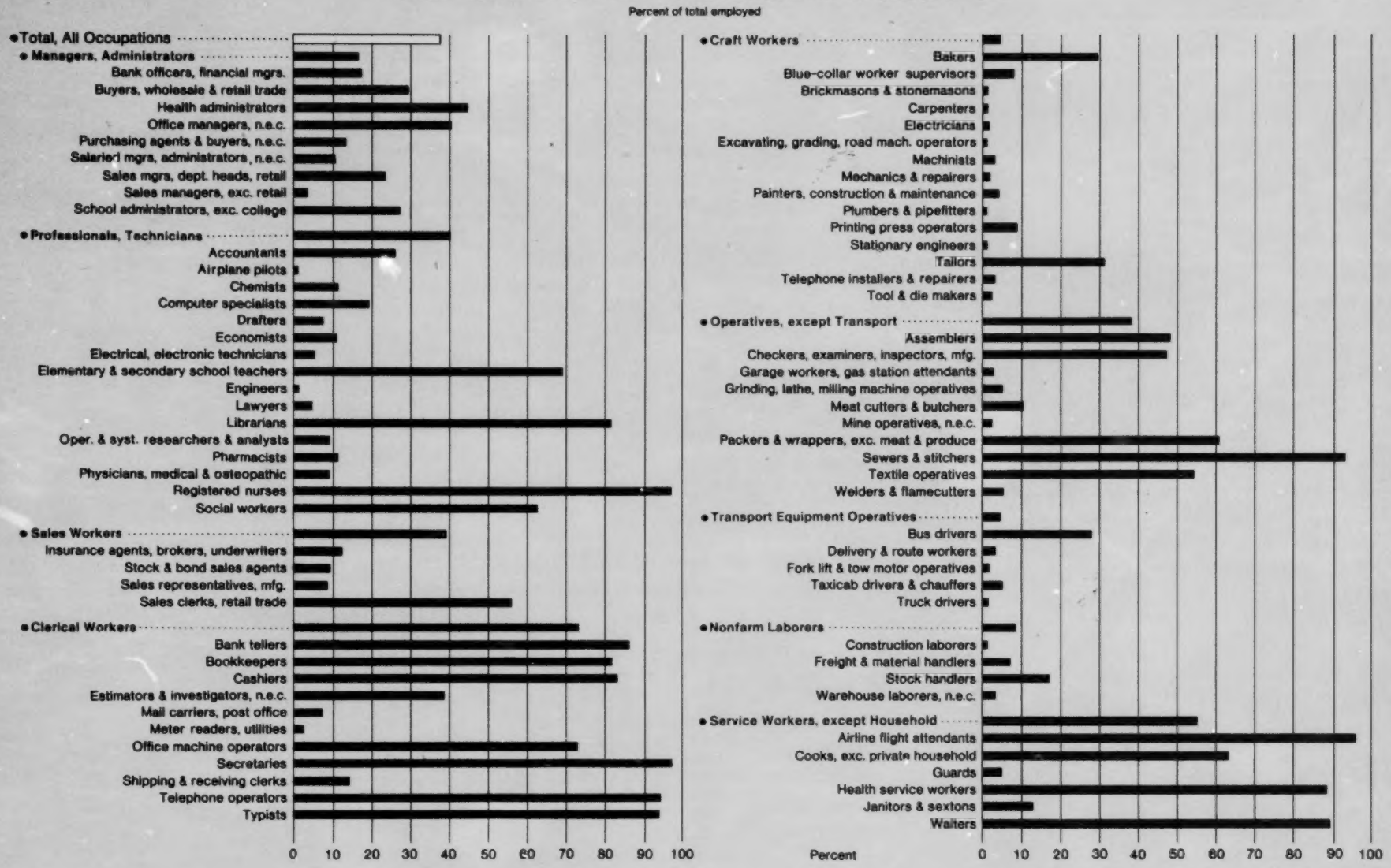
comparative sizes of various solid bar areas reflect the comparative numbers of women employed. The chart is based on the broad occupational categories used by the Census; however, the traditional order in which they are presented has been changed to reflect the proportional representation of women.

The representation of men and women in different occupational categories varies considerably. For example, in 1970, women performed 97 percent of all service jobs in private households; 74 percent of the huge numbers of clerical jobs; and 56 percent of all the many service jobs outside the household. At the other extreme, women held only 4 percent of the jobs operating transportation equipment; they made up only 5 percent of the sizable numbers of workers in the skilled crafts; only 8 percent of all nonfarm laborers and 9 percent of all farm workers were women; and only 17 percent of all the managers and administrators were women.

In between these two extremes there were several broad occupational categories in which the overall representation of men and women was roughly proportional to their participation in the labor force. For example, 40 percent of the many professionals and technicians were women; 39 percent of the sales jobs were performed by women; and 38 percent of all the semiskilled operatives were women. However, this overall picture of a balanced work force including both men and women in these categories is very misleading. When the mix of men and women performing specific kinds of jobs within these broad occupational categories is examined, many other examples of the severe occupational segregation of women are revealed.

In 1970, the representation of women in some of the more common occupations ranged from 1 percent or less to well over 90 percent. Notice in particular how wide the variation is in the proportions of women working on various kinds of jobs within the same broad occupational category. For example, within the largely male-dominated managerial and administrative category the spread is from 4 percent women among sales managers (excluding those in retailing) to 44 percent women among health administrators. And within the apparently male-female-balanced professional and technicians category, the range is from 1 percent women among airplane pilots to 97 percent

Female Representation in Some Common Specific Occupations, 1970



among registered nurses. The same thing is true in the other two apparently male-female-balanced categories: The range in the sales worker category is from 8 percent to 56 percent female; and in the semiskilled operative category it runs from 2 percent to 94 percent.

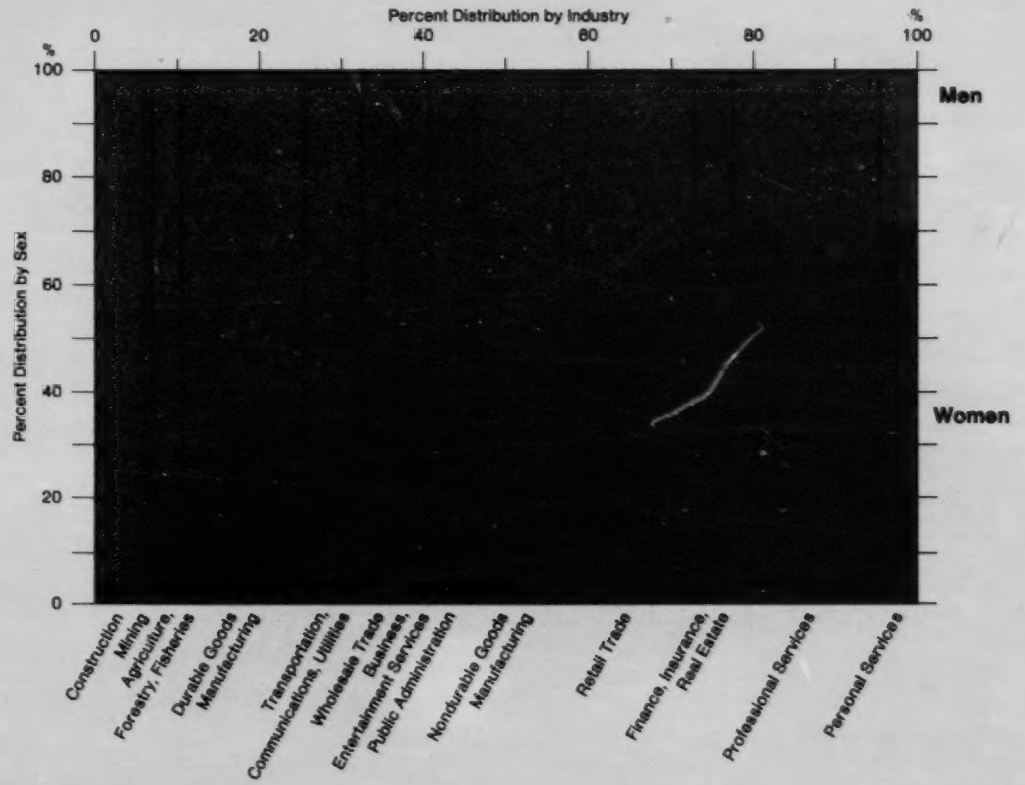
It would be ideal if we could use detailed occupational figures such as these on an industry-by-industry basis to show exactly how much improvement there has been between 1970 and 1975 in the job opportunities provided to women. Unfortunately, the latest reliable figures are from the 1970 Census, and the next available ones will probably be from the 1980 Census. The year-to-year CPS figures that are available for detailed occupations are not broken down by industry, and, even in the aggregate, they seem much too erratic to be trusted. Fortunately, the year-to-year statistics that are available for the broad occupational categories are relatively more stable and, become more meaningful when they are examined by sector and by industry.[1]

The accompanying histogram summarizes the distribution of both male and female workers by industry across the entire U.S. economy in 1970. It is based on the broad industrial categories used by the Census—which sometimes include or exclude different kinds of employment than their titles might suggest (see below)—but they have been reordered based on the proportion of the work force that is female. The width of the bar for each industrial category indicates the proportion of the total U.S. work force that is employed in that category.

[1]The whole question of what labor force statistics should be used for various purposes is a complex one, not only in theory but also in practice. It is especially important to note that the most appropriate statistics to use to determine what improvement in job opportunities for women occurred between 1970 and 1975 are not necessarily the most appropriate ones for other purposes, e.g., to assess the present or future supply of women qualified to perform various jobs.

The representation of women in different industry categories varies widely. It ranges from 6 percent in construction to 72 percent in personal services. Those industries in which women held a larger proportion of the jobs than their average (38 percent) for the total economy are:

Proportions of Men and Women in Broad Industrial Categories, 1970



Personal services—72 percent female. This category includes not only private households but also, for example, laundries; beauty shops; hotels, motels and other lodging.

Professional services—63 percent female. This is a huge category that includes, for example, doctors' and dentists' offices; both public and private hospitals and other health care institutions; offices of attorneys, accountants, architects et cetera; both public and private schools and colleges; libraries; museums; churches and welfare services; nonprofit membership organizations.

Finance, insurance, real estate—50 percent female.

Retail trade—46 percent female.

Nondurable goods manufacturing—39 percent female.

All told, in 1970 these five industry categories accounted for three out of every four working women.

The remaining industry categories are those in which men held a greater than average (62 percent) proportion of the jobs. In descending order of their presence in the labor force, these are:

Construction—94 percent male.

Mining—92 percent male.

Agriculture, forestry, fisheries—89 percent male.

Durable goods manufacturing—79 percent male.

Transportation, communications, other public utilities—79 percent male.

Wholesale trade—77 percent male.

Public administration—70 percent male. This category includes all employees of federal, state and local governments (notable exceptions are those in utilities or sanitary services); and postal service workers. Police and firefighters are also in this category, but not employees in public health care or educational institutions.

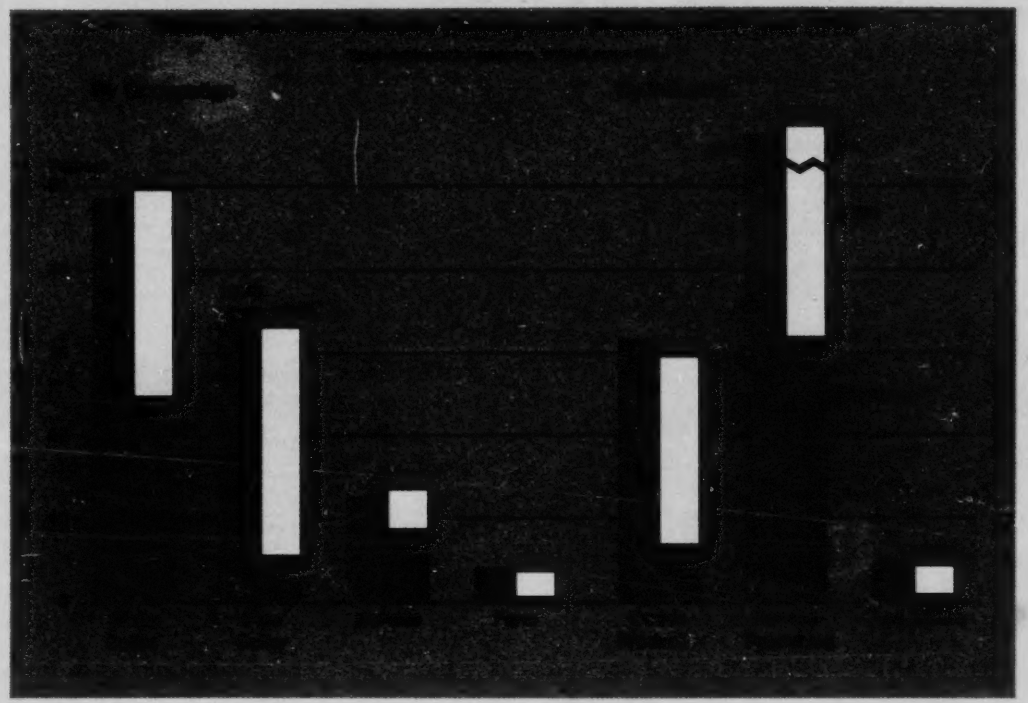
Business services and entertainment services—70 percent male.

In 1970, these eight broad industry categories included nearly three-fifths of all the jobs for men, but only one out of every four jobs for women.

Thus, there really has been segregation of women, not only by occupations, but also in terms of their general work settings. A majority of the men and a majority of the women worked in totally different broad industry categories.

Changes in Male-Female Employment Profiles, 1970 and 1975

As noted earlier, the aggregate statistics for 1975 certainly reveal no startling differences from the general male-female profiles in 1970. But some relatively modest overall changes did occur, and these are evident even though no perfectly matched data exist for the comparison of occupation- industry statistics between the two years.



In large measure, the changes shown in the representation of women within the total U.S. work force between 1970 and 1975 can be attributed to three continuing and fundamental change processes affecting the economy as a whole:

The Number of Women Working. Most significant, probably, is the continued rapid growth in the size of the female work force. By no means unique to the 1970-1975 time interval, it has been a dominant trend throughout the post-World War II era and its impetus still continues unabated. Between 1970 and 1975 the increase in the number of employed women was greater both in absolute numbers and in percentages. According to survey data, there were 3.9 million more working women in 1975 than in 1970, compared with only 2.3 million more men. Translated into percentages, the growth rate for the female work force is 13 percent—more than double the 5 percent growth rate for the men. Accordingly, while women already accounted for 38 percent of the working population in 1970, by 1975 they accounted for 40 percent of a considerably larger working population, and so, all 1975 employment figures would be likely to show at least some increase in female representation.

The Shift to Services. Actually, however, the changes in female employment have not been uniform because of a second fundamental change in the economy. A long-term shift in the relative importance of certain industries as sources of employment has also been occurring. It yielded changes in job patterns for both men and women between 1970 and 1975. Concurrent with the long-term decline in blue-collar employment in goods production, there has been increasing employment in the service-providing industries, with their special emphasis on white-collar and service occupations—and their typically greater employment of women.

The Business Cycle. This is still another powerful economic force that needs to be kept in mind. It has an impact on the situation in at least two major ways. First of all, a recession sharply reduces the available number of job openings. Employers shift from creating new jobs to holding the line, or even reducing, the total number of jobs they provide. And, of course, at the same time, fewer employees quit their jobs voluntarily because they are uncertain about whether they can find others, so there are also fewer replacement job openings available. Increases in the employment of women can only occur when there are job openings for them to fill.

Furthermore, a recession temporarily changes the overall mix of jobs. Indeed, because of the difference in the economic climate in 1975 compared with 1970, the basic shift toward white-collar and service occupations is probably being seen in somewhat heightened form. Although 1970 had been considered a recession year, the 1975 recession was far more severe, and its effect on employment, especially in factories, was much more pervasive. It is probable that at least some of the apparent upward shift in the proportions of workers employed in most white-collar jobs really reflects their greater job security during the especially adverse economic conditions in 1975.

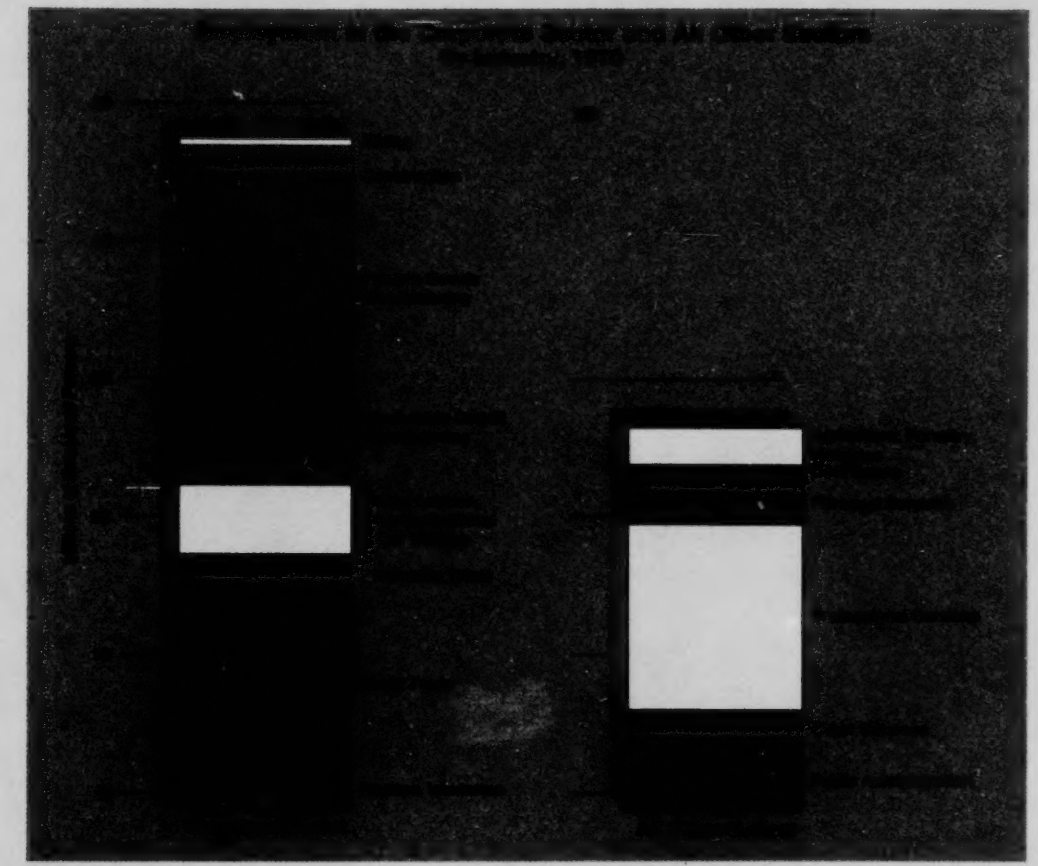
Other Possible Influences. The combined impact of all three of these broad, underlying economic forces must, of course, be kept in mind in assessing whether any observed change in male-female employment statistics between 1970 and 1975 might possibly be due to any other influences, such as pressure from the women's movement or the federal nondiscrimination laws and regulations. There are two changes in the overall figures that the underlying economic forces do not seem to explain fully. Between 1970 and 1975 there appears to have been a substantial increase in the total number of managers. Also, the rate of increase in female managers appears to have been greater than the rate of increase among the men.

Something special may have happened for women across this whole broad occupational category. But, due to the lack of strict comparability between the 1970 and 1975 data, it is difficult to be sure. The changes may actually be occurring largely within specific parts of the economy.

The corporate sector—that part of the economy in which there are many large private companies—is an especially likely place to look for further evidence of this and other changes in job opportunities for women. This sector is highly visible; it is also the sector that has been subject to stringent federal nondiscrimination laws and regulations for the longest time. Furthermore, it is a sector for which a considerable amount of 1970-1975 data is available from a variety of sources.

The Corporate Sector and All Other Sectors

AS ALREADY NOTED, the overall male-female employment patterns for the U.S. economy are somewhat misleading. Because they meld quite different, severely segregated patterns into seemingly more integrated wholes, they give the impression that women are more widely dispersed and more evenly represented at various organizational levels throughout the economy than they really are. The overall data certainly do not accurately describe the male-female employment situation in business, especially not in the kinds of business that are usually undertaken by relatively large profit-making corporations. And that, of course, indicates that the situation in the remainder of the economy is really quite different, too. This section notes the changes, especially in the corporate sector, between 1970 and 1975.



"The corporate sector" has been defined as including these industries: mining, construction, durable goods manufacturing, nondurable goods manufacturing, transportation, communications, other public utilities, wholesale trade, retail trade, finance and insurance. In 1970, 64 percent of all workers were employed in the corporate sector.

"All other sectors" of the economy therefore includes: agriculture, forestry and fisheries; real estate; personal, professional and other services; and public administration.[1] Thirty-six percent of all workers were employed in organizations devoted to these varied activities.

Because the corporate sector includes so many male-dominated industries and excludes the personal and professional service industries where so many women are employed, in 1970 the employment mix in this sector was 69 percent male and 31 percent female. In the remainder of the economy the work force was evenly split by sex. Looking at the data in a different way, 71 percent of all the men who worked but

[1]A clear-cut separation of the corporate sector from the rest of the economy was not always possible. In a few instances, for example, real estate could not be subtracted from finance and insurance. Furthermore, occupational data for utilities generally included sanitary services, which are largely in the public sector and should have been excluded from the corporate sector. Nonetheless, employment in both of these industries is very small and their inclusion or exclusion has little effect on the overall picture, except as noted for certain occupations.

only 52 percent of the working women were employed in the corporate sector.

Over the long run, moving toward employment parity for women implies a shift toward greater female employment in the corporate sector and/or greater employment of males in the rest of the economy. But by 1975 the aggregate figures still showed only slight changes.

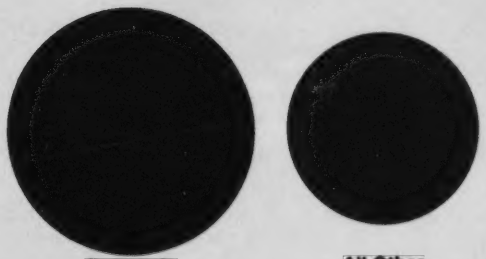
A fairly large group of occupations, principally in the blue-collar and sales area, are found almost exclusively within the corporate sector. On the other hand, others—such as private household service work and farming—are being regarded as outside that sector. Clerical work, however, has no particular setting; it is found in all parts of the economy. So are professional, managerial and service occupations, but with obvious differences in emphasis in the corporate sector and elsewhere. There are proportionately fewer professional and service employees in business, but there are significantly more managers.

Comparative Employment Patterns of Men and Women by Sector

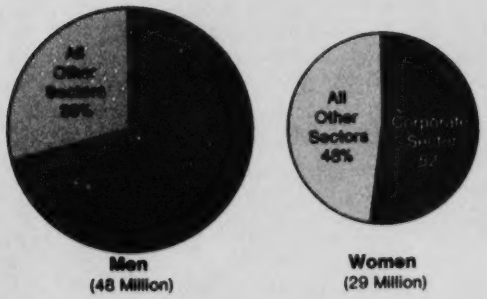
Although total employment in the corporate sector was broadly spread across many occupational categories in 1970, the

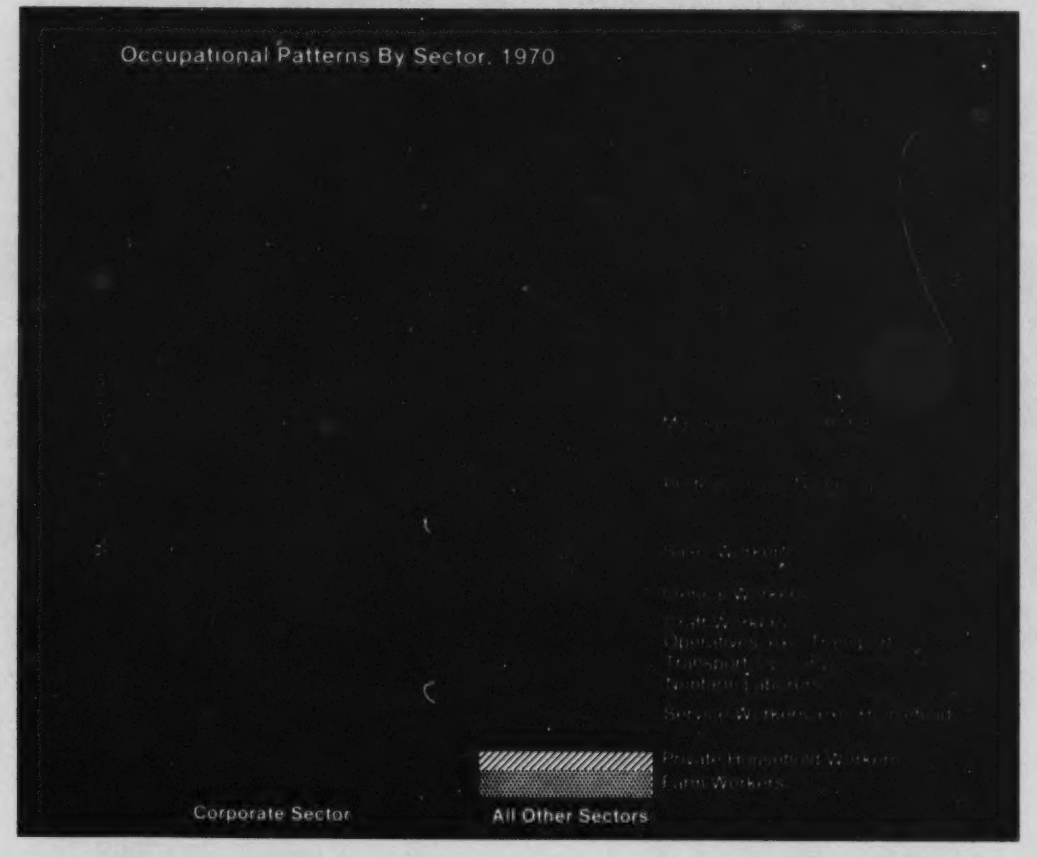
Comparative Employment Patterns in 1970

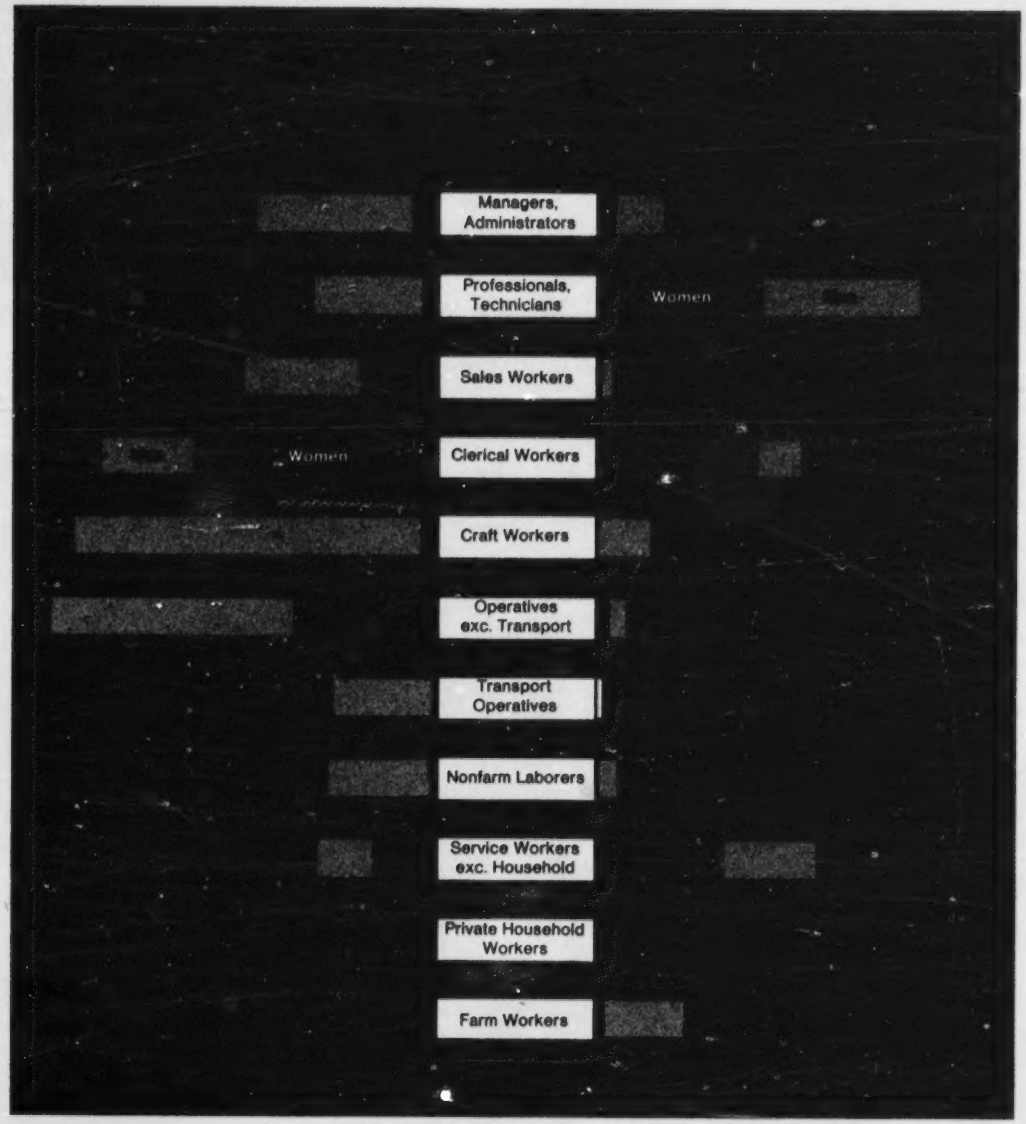
By Sex



By Sector







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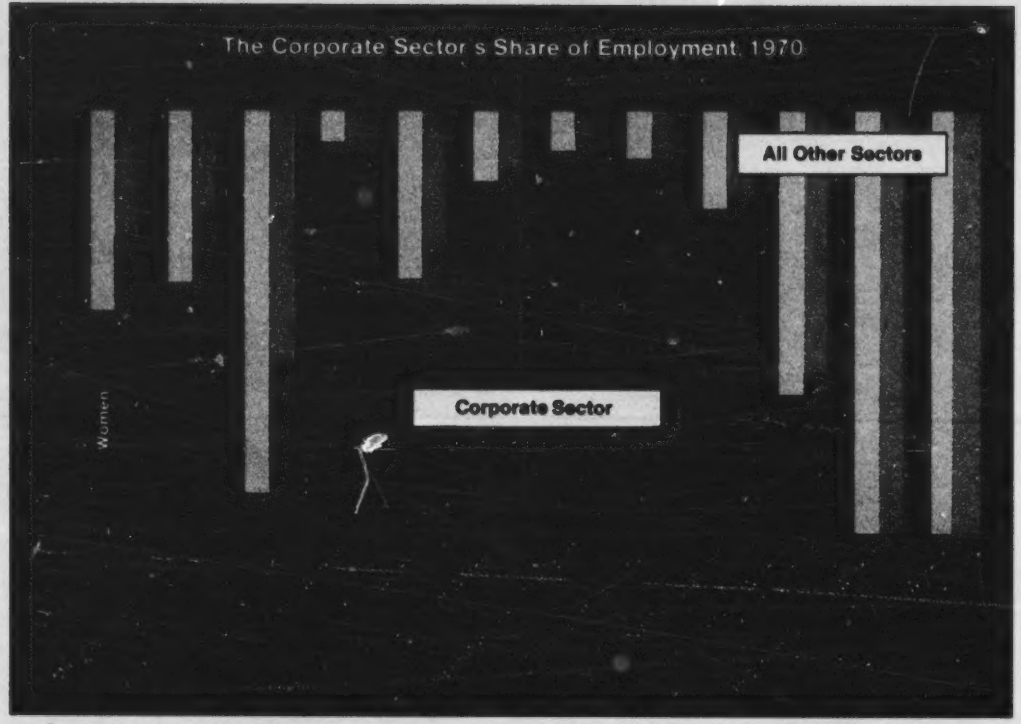
women working in this sector were heavily concentrated in only four of the categories. They were very likely to be clerical workers, semiskilled operatives, service workers, or sales workers. Relatively few were in the higher paying, more prestigious occupations of managers and administrators, professionals and technicians, or craft workers, where so many men worked. Women were also unlikely to be transport operatives or laborers.

There was less variety of employment by occupation for either sex in the remainder of the economy. Most of the people tended to be working as professionals and technicians, clerical workers, or service workers. And women were very well represented in all three of these broad occupational categories.

By comparison with the rest of the economy, the proportion of women in professional and managerial occupations in the corporate sector was especially small. Only 13 percent of all those employed in each of these categories in the corporate sector were women; in the remainder of the economy women made up 51 percent of all those in the professional and technical category and 25 percent of all the managers and administrators.

The primary reason the work force in the corporate sector was so predominantly male in 1970 was that virtually all the skilled craft jobs and other largely male-oriented blue-collar jobs were in this sector. But there was another contributing factor—higher proportions of men than of women were employed within the corporate sector in various occupational categories.

In fact, with the exception of the sales



worker category—where the shares were just about even—in 1970 a disproportionately *large* share of the men working in each and every broad occupational category had jobs in the corporate sector. This, of course, means that a disproportionately *small* number of the women employed in each category worked in a corporate work setting. The imbalance by sex even holds true among clerical workers.

The most obvious imbalance by sex is in the professional and technical category. Among the men—despite the fact that so many of them worked in such male-dominated roles outside the corporate sector as doctor, dentist, lawyer, architect, member of the clergy, or college professor—fully 41 percent of their professional and technical jobs were within the corporate sector. And there, many of them also worked in male-dominated occupations—such as engineer, scientist or technician in manufacturing, construction or the utilities. Only 10 percent of the women professionals worked in the corporate sector. The other 90 percent worked as nurses, health care technicians, social workers, elementary and secondary school teachers, librarians, and so on, in other sectors.

Another major imbalance by sex is in the managerial and administrative category. Among the men, 76 percent of their managerial posts were in the corporate sector, but among the women this was true of less than 60 percent. Despite the fact that only about a quarter of all managerial jobs are found in the rest of the economy, over 40 percent of the female managers and administrators were employed in schools and colleges; real estate offices; hotels and motels; hospitals, religious and welfare agencies; government offices, and the like.

To be sure, the professional and managerial jobs in the corporate sector are not likely to be fully comparable with those in other parts of the economy. But knowledgeable experts in personnel selection and development note that job analysis often reveals broad common areas of knowledge and skill in variously titled professional and managerial jobs in different economic sectors. For quite some time these human resource specialists have been predicting that there will be greater movement of both men and women back and forth among corporate, school, college, hospital and governmental work settings as more and more employers and employees become aware that this is true.[2]

Women's Share of Jobs by Occupation and Sector in 1970, 1972, and 1975

Although it is not appropriate to make

[2]These same experts also note that jobs with exactly the same titles often require quite different knowledge and skills in different organizations or work settings. This is but one of the many factors that make it so difficult to determine which statistics are best used for various human resource management purposes.

precise comparisons between the 1970 Census figures and the 1972 or 1975 CPS figures, it is possible to use all three sets of figures to gain a general impression of what has happened to the representation of women in various occupational categories both in the corporate sector and in the rest of the economy. Such a broad-brush picture can at least provide information about where most change has probably occurred and what its basic direction has been. Furthermore, although percentages are based on very small populations in some instances, a number of comparisons can still be made for any given year between the situation in the corporate sector and the situation in the rest of the economy.

First of all, the accompanying chart clearly confirms that by 1975 there had been a favorable change in the representation of women in the managerial and administrative category in all parts of the economy. It seems possible that this process began somewhat earlier in the corporate sector than in the other sectors, where women already held a much larger share of the managerial roles.[3]

A favorable change also seems to have occurred in the representation of women in

[3]Because it was not possible to separate employment data for real estate from finance and insurance in CPS statistics for 1972 and 1975, the 1970 Census figures have been adjusted in the accompanying chart for certain occupations, namely managers and sales workers, so that year-to-year comparisons can be made. The real estate industry is small but its atypical pattern of female representation in managerial jobs (high) and sales work (low) has some effect on the aggregate figures for these occupations, especially where the employment base is small.

professional and technical jobs in the corporate sector, where they have traditionally held very few such positions. Their representation in professional roles in other parts of the economy seems to have held about steady—at its typical high level.

In keeping with the overall growth in the female labor force, there was a noticeable increase throughout the economy in the representation of women in the traditionally female categories of clerical and service worker. It also appears likely that a similar increase occurred in the proportion of women among sales workers, at least in the corporate sector where the majority of the sales jobs are located. (The situation elsewhere is less clear-cut since the chart includes real estate employment in the corporate sector. This industry accounts for over half of the small number of sales jobs in the rest of the economy. See footnote 2.)

In the other large, typically heavily female category—the semiskilled operatives—the women appear to have held their own in the corporate sector but to have lost some ground, especially between 1972 and 1975, in the rest of the economy. This is probably due to the fact that most women classified as operatives outside of the corporate sector hold jobs in laundries and small dressmaking shops. Employment in these personal service industries has been declining for some time, and while this change may have resulted in a loss of jobs for women, it can hardly be interpreted as having involved any major loss in job status for them.

Thus, based on the improvement shown in the representation of women in upscale job categories—the better paying, higher status jobs—the corporate sector does appear to be the part of the economy that has achieved the greatest improvement in the job opportunities provided to women. The changes are not spectacular, but they warrant further study.

Changes in Male-Female Employment Patterns in the Corporate Sector, 1970 and 1975

The overall configuration of the employment of men and women in the corporate sector looks much the same in 1970, 1972 and 1975. Over the five-year period the proportion of women employed increased by only one percentage point to 32 percent (compared to an increase from 38 percent to 40 percent female representation in the total U.S. work force). And the women are still largely segregated in the clerical, operative, service and sales jobs.

But closer inspection does reveal some important changes both in the distribution of all employees by occupation and also in the proportions of men and women in some of the occupational categories. The most obvious differences are in the managerial category, where both types of change have occurred. In the first place, this whole category has apparently increased substantially in size. The 1970 Census showed only 10 percent of all corporate sector employees as managers; the 1972 CPS figure was 12 percent; and the 1975 CPS figure was 13 percent. And in the second place, as already noted, the proportion of women in the managerial category has also increased. The 1970 Census showed 13 percent female managers; the 1972 CPS figure was 15 percent; and the 1975 figure was 17 percent. Thus, the women appear to have made a double gain—they have been increasing their share of the employment in this especially important category at the same time that the category itself has been growing.

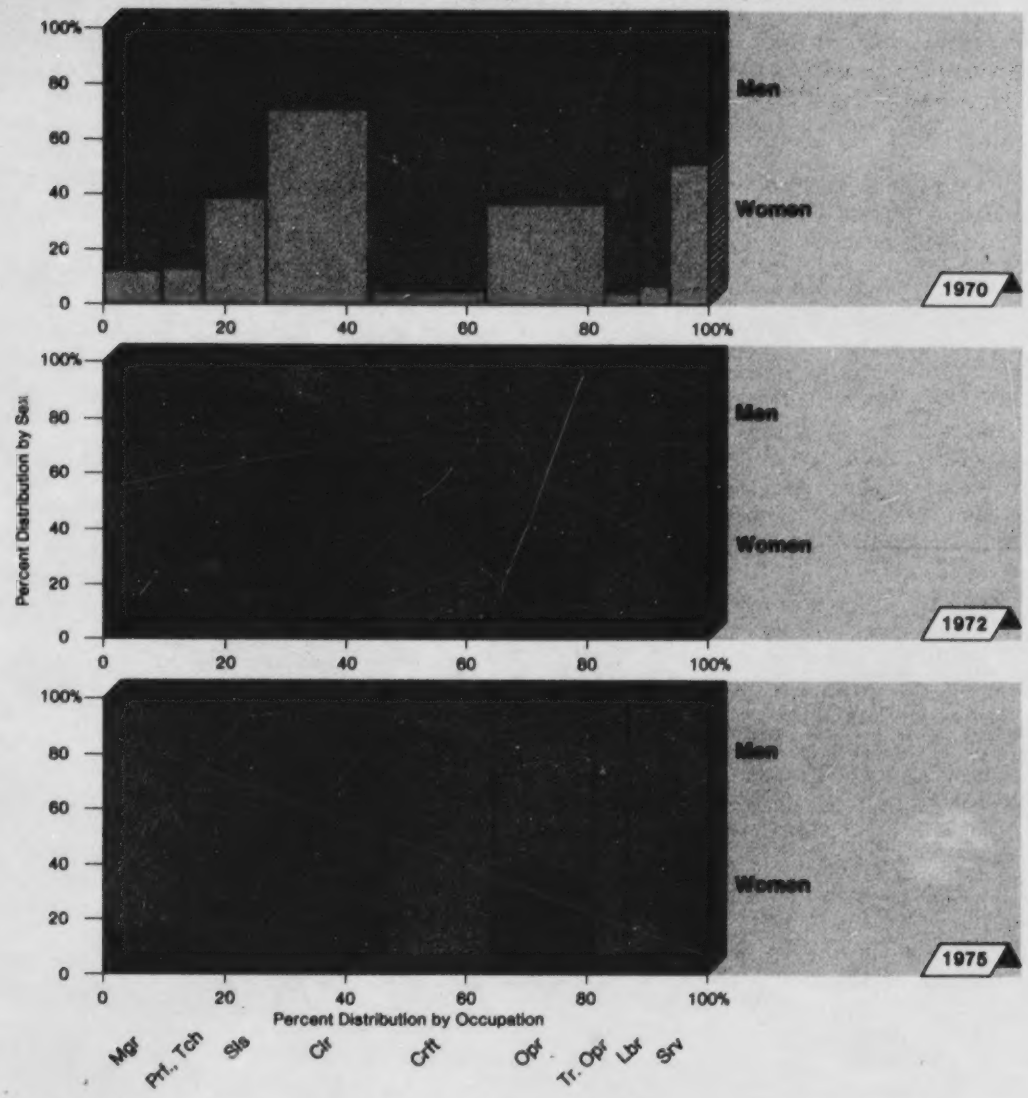
Moreover, the gains for women in management do not seem to have been made at the expense of jobs for women in the professional and technical category, which is a common source of managers in many companies. The employment of women in this category appears to have grown, too.

Four developments that relate to the most common female occupations in the corporate sector should again be noted:

- The proportion of female sales workers is apparently growing (1970—40 percent; 1972—42 percent; 1975—43 percent).
- The proportion of female clerical workers also apparently continues to climb (1970—71 percent; 1972—74 percent; 1975—76 percent).
- The proportion of female service workers apparently also increased (1970—52 percent; 1972—53 percent; 1975—54 percent).
- There was a noticeable decline in the employment of both men and women as semiskilled operatives (1970—20 percent of all workers; 1972—19 percent; 1975—17 percent). But in the corporate sector, unlike the rest of the economy, the women maintained their share (37-38 percent) of the remaining jobs.

In the corporate sector between 1970 and

Changes in Male-Female Employment within the Corporate Sector



1975, just as in the economy as a whole, there was a shift toward more employment for women in various white-collar occupations. But something special—something that goes beyond what can readily be explained by the business cycle, by the shift toward service industries, and by the growth in the female labor force participation rate—seems to have happened for women in both the managerial and the professional ranks in the corporate sector.

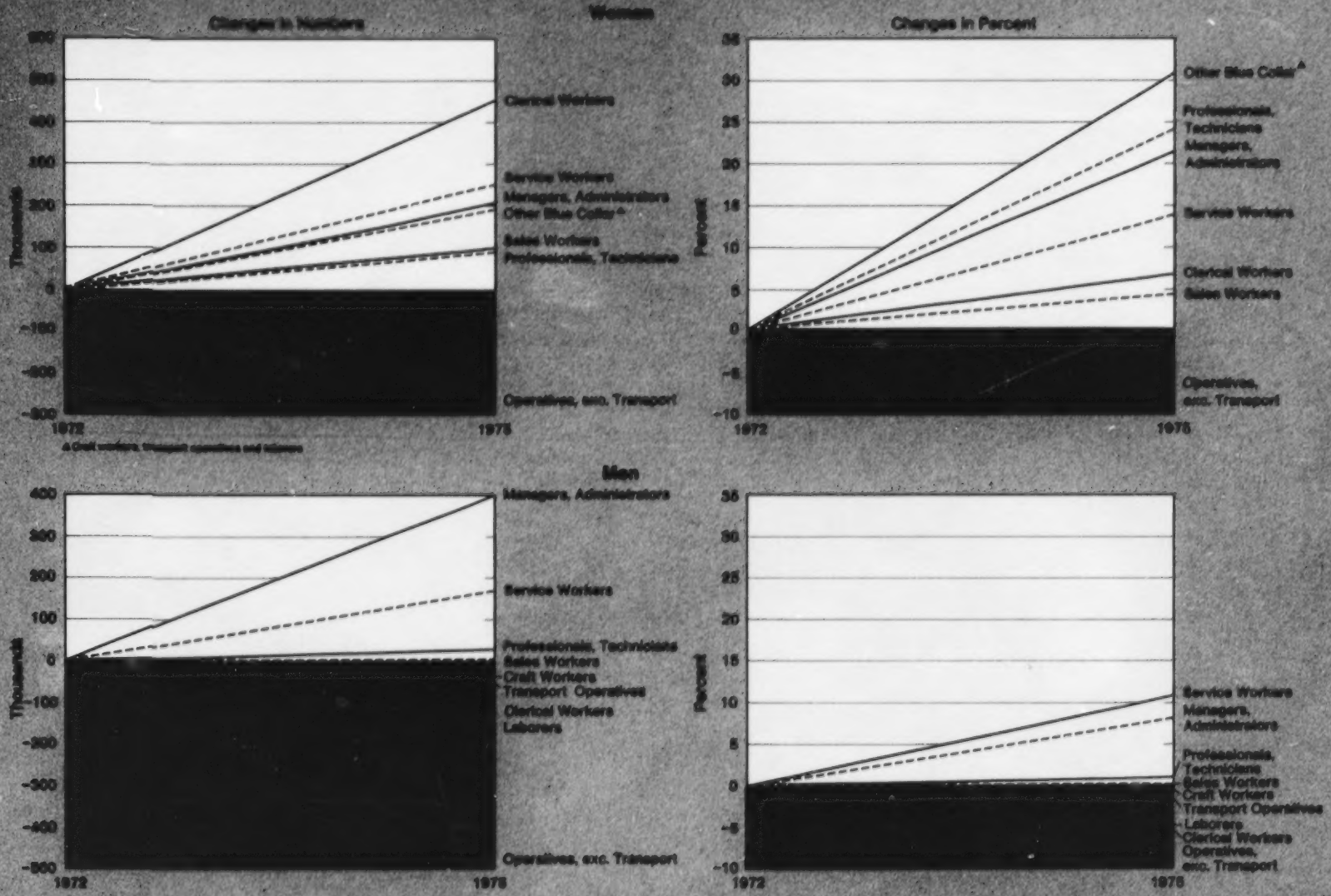
As already noted, given the available statistics, it is not possible to compare the 1970 male-female employment figures for the whole corporate sector directly with any 1975 figures in order to calculate exactly how much change has taken place.[4] But because the 1970, 1972, and 1975 histograms do look so similar it seems reasonable to assume that the overall profile of the 1970 to 1975 changes would look quite a bit like the profiles which summarize the 1972 to 1975 changes in employment by sex.

Between 1972 and 1975, total employment in the corporate sector increased by less than 2 percent. The changes resulted in a net increase of 6 percent in the employment of women and a very slight decrease (-1 percent) in the employment of men.

But there were some occupational categories—especially the managerial and the service worker categories—in which male employment increased substantially, and some in which it remained essentially stable. At the same time there was a sharp recession-

[4]Fortunately, it is possible to make 1970 to 1975 comparisons for larger companies in specific industries. See pages 35-68.

The Change in Employment in the Corporate Sector, By Occupation and Sex, 1972 to 1975



^ Craft workers, transport operatives and laborers

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related drop in male employment in the blue-collar and clerical worker categories.

As for the women, their largest increases numerically were in their stereotyped roles as clerical workers and service workers; they showed a considerable increase in the usual sales worker category, too. But women also made strong numerical gains in the managerial, professional and craft categories—all relatively large employment categories in which they had previously been seriously underrepresented. And, like the men, they suffered a major loss of employment in the semiskilled operative category.

When the numerical changes between 1972 and 1975 are expressed in percentage terms, the changes in female employment look quite different because the 1972 bases in some cases are very small and in other cases they are very large. For example, an increase of 98,000 women in the sales worker category is only a 4 percent increase in the huge numbers of female sales workers. But an increase of 96,000 in the number of professionals and technicians represents a 24 percent increase in women in this category.

The comparative rates of increase for the males and for the females in each occupational category are similarly influenced by the size of the base figures. For example, an increase of 411,000 men amounts to only an 8 percent increase in the total number of male managers. But an increase of 202,000 in the number of female managers is a 22 percent increase in their representation.

Nonetheless, it is the percentage change figures—the comparative net rates of change—for men and women in an occupation that are important to consider in determining whether the job opportunities being provided to women are improving. If the net rates of change for men and for women continue to be strikingly different over a period of years, then the proportions of men and women in that occupation will also necessarily change.

From these pictures there is confirming evidence that in the corporate sector the total number of managers is increasing and that the rate of increase is considerably greater for women (+22 percent between 1972 and 1975) than it is for men (+8 percent over the same time period). (See page 27.)

But there are indications of two other possibly important differences in upscale job categories in favor of women, too. The increase in their representation in professional and technical jobs (+24 percent between 1972 and 1975) is at a considerably faster rate than the increase for men (+1 percent over the same years). And, although this particular change may well be a temporary aberration, the same thing appears to be true in blue-collar jobs other than operatives (31 percent for women and a negative growth for men). Something special does, indeed, seem to be happening to women in the corporate sector. And it is possible to examine this change more carefully both by specific industry and by size of company.

Within the Corporate Sector

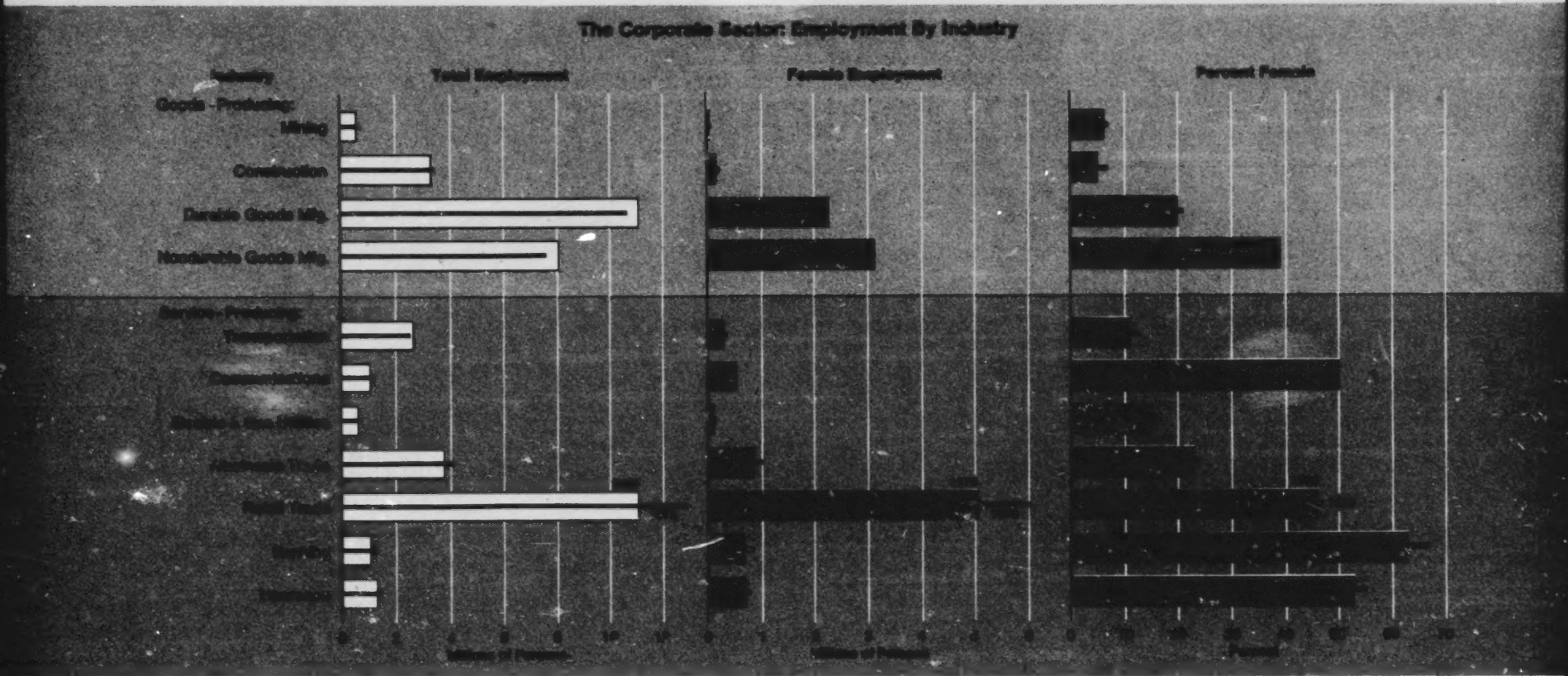
THE remainder of this chartbook deals with what has been happening to women within the corporate sector. The 1970 (or, in some cases, 1972) and 1975 male-female employment and occupational patterns are examined from three perspectives:

(1) Within broad industry categories, based on the kinds of goods or services being produced;

(2) Within those industries where the work force is largely male compared to those where there is more female representation;

(3) For certain important nontraditional jobs for women across the whole corporate sector.

Even when the focus narrows to what has been happening within the corporate sector, the 1970 employment and occupational patterns of men and women are by no means uniform. They differ tremendously both across industry categories and also, apparently, by size of company within such categories. Furthermore, there have been quite different changes in these patterns during the five years between 1970 and 1975 in different kinds and sizes of companies, just as there have been differences in the rate of

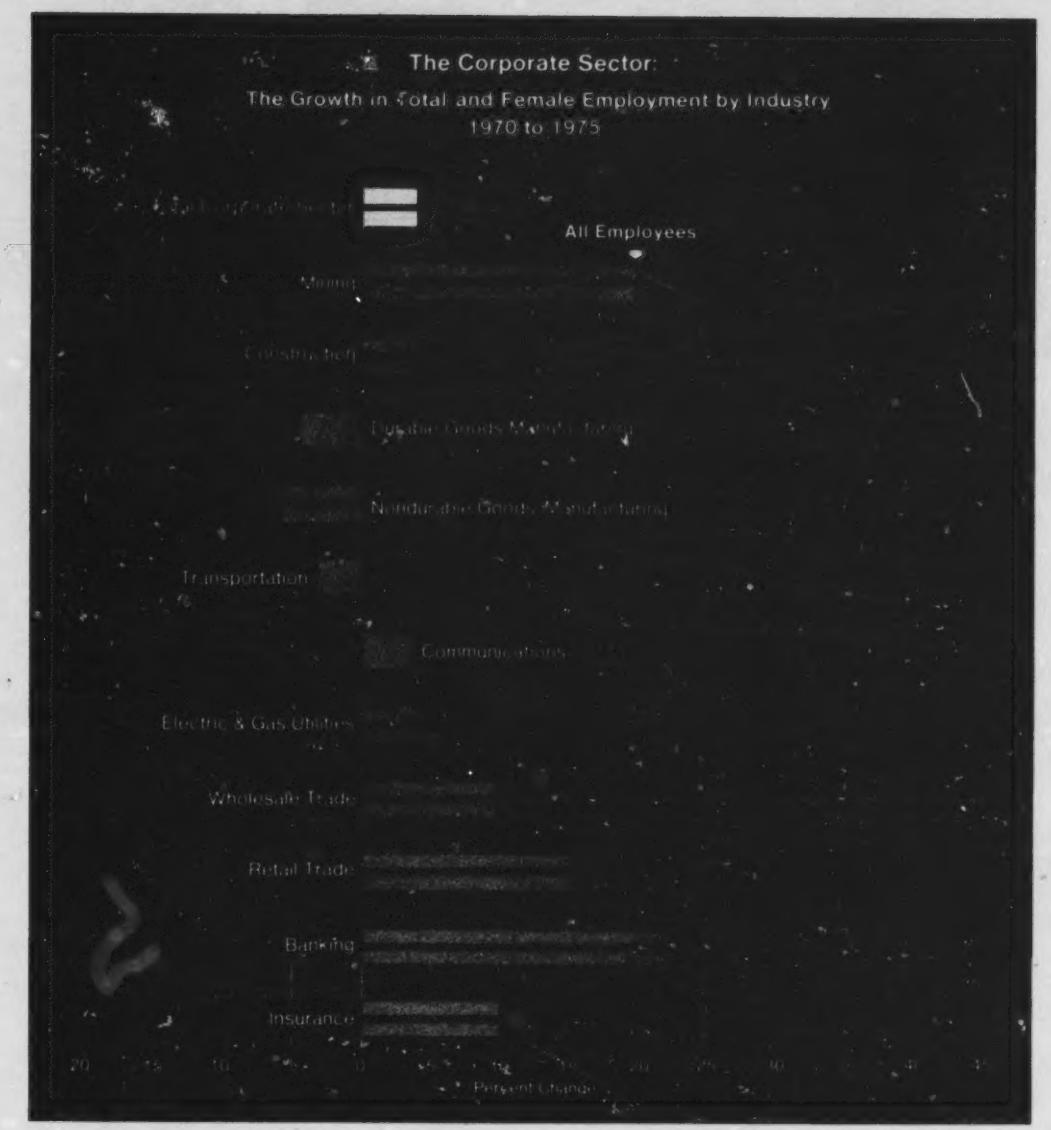


change for female representation in different kinds of nontraditional jobs.

Although there has been a long-term trend toward greater employment outside the goods-producing industries, these industries were still heavy employers of both men and women in 1970 and even in 1975. However, the greatest increases in total employment from 1970 to 1975 occurred in the service industries: in banking, wholesale and retail trade, electric and gas utilities and insurance. These increases are in contrast to an actual drop in employment in manufacturing, particularly in nondurable goods industries. Generally speaking, the 1970-1975 changes in the employment of women followed much this same pattern.

Men are especially well represented in mining, construction, durable goods manufacturing, transportation, electric and gas utilities and wholesale trade. On the other hand, nondurable goods manufacturing, retail trade, banking and insurance have especially high proportions of women. While there were more women employed in 1975, there were only relatively small changes from the pattern of their representation in various industries in 1970.

As noted, there was considerable variation in the size and even the direction of the changes in employment in different industries between 1970 and 1975. But the percentage changes in the employment of women were almost always more favorable than the changes in total employment in the industry. That is, if the change figures were positive, then the growth rate for women was larger than the growth rate for total



employment in the industry; and if the figures were negative, then the women's percentage change figure was smaller. The only exception to this general pattern was in the communications industry, where the women experienced a reduction in employment between 1970 and 1975 even though total employment was increasing.

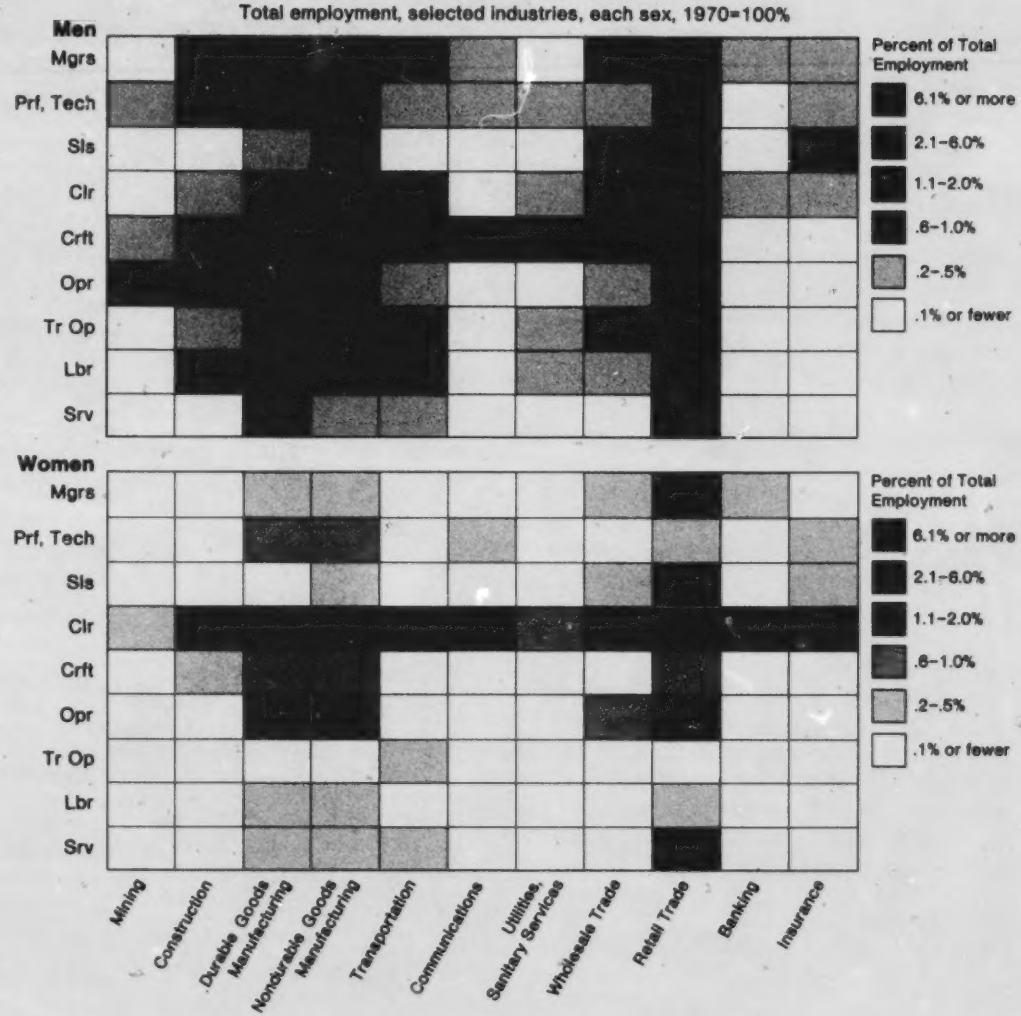
In some industries—such as in mining, construction and transportation—the relatively large percentage change in the employment of women between 1970 and 1975 reflects the fact that the representation of women was minimal to begin with and a modest numerical gain occurred. However, in other industries, such as retail trade, banking and insurance, women were well represented in 1970 and increased their numbers at a significantly faster pace than the growth in total employment.

In manufacturing, on the other hand, there was a contraction in both total and female employment. The women probably suffered the effects of the 1975 recession less severely because fewer of them were in blue-collar employment.

The accompanying matrix summarizing male and female employment by both broad industry category and broad occupational groupings, shows the striking differences in the 1970 patterns for the sexes within the corporate sector. Women are abundantly located in a very limited number of categories and are virtually nonexistent in many others, whereas male workers are much more broadly distributed. Of the 99

The Concentration of Men and Women
By Occupation and Industry, 1970

Total employment, selected industries, each sex, 1970=100%



cells in the matrix (nine occupational groupings times eleven broad industry categories), the five that are most deeply shaded included more than 55 percent of all the women working in the corporate sector—operatives in both durables and nondurables manufacturing; and sales, clerical and service workers in retail trade. In order to include 55 percent of all the men, 12 different occupation-industry cells need to be counted. On the other hand, 58 cells in the matrix—those that are blank—were occupations that had one-tenth of one percent or fewer of all the women employed in the corporate sector; only 32 such cells existed for men.

Why Three Sets of Charts are Shown

The next sections take a closer look at the job opportunities provided for women between 1970 and 1975 in certain industries. Whenver possible, three sets of similar charts are presented, one right below the other, so that essentially the same kinds of information can be considered for companies of different sizes. The three sets of charts are labeled to show the source(s) of the data being presented:

- CENSUS (or sometimes CPS). This row of charts presents information about all the people who work in the industry. In effect, the charts cover all companies, even the very small ones.
- EEOC. This row of charts summarizes information that somewhat larger employers, those with 100 or more employees (or 50 or more employees if they were government contractors) submitted to the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.
- CB SURVEY. This row of charts summarizes information submitted directly to The Conference Board by some very large corporations. Exactly the same companies reported data for both 1970 and 1975. These corporations probably are not typical of all the very large companies in the industry. Nonetheless, they are important because they account for an important share of the total employment in the industry.

(For further information about the data sources, see the general methodological note on page 6.)

1. Within Specified Industries

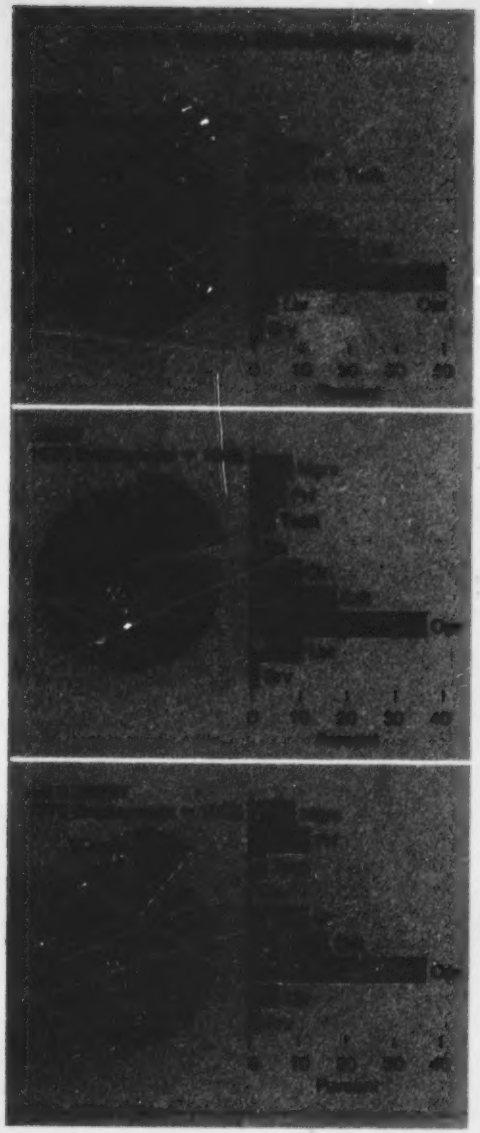
Manufacturing

THE 1970 CENSUS showed that one out of every four U.S. workers was employed in a manufacturing organization. Fourteen million of these workers were men and less than six million were women. Companies in the manufacturing part of the economy are commonly divided into two broad industry groups: those that produce durable goods, that is, goods of relatively long usefulness; and those that produce nondurable goods, that is, goods that are consumed or otherwise used up more quickly.

Durable Goods Manufacturing in 1970

In 1970, almost 12 million persons were employed by organizations engaged in durable goods manufacturing, and most worked for good-sized companies. More than nine million worked for the firms with over 50-100 employees that reported to the EEOC. In our matched CB sample of 14 very large durable goods companies, the average employment was over 37,000 persons per company.

All in all, durable goods manufacturing is a very masculine world, with only one in every five workers being a woman. But the male-female representation in the work force varies considerably based on the specific kinds of goods being produced. For example, women made up only 9 percent of the work force in companies producing primary metals; only 10 percent in lumber companies; only 13 percent in companies producing transportation equipment; and only 17 percent in companies producing nonelectrical machinery. On the other hand, women represented 38 percent of the work force in



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Women

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63

64

companies making electrical machinery and equipment, and 37 percent in professional and photographic equipment.

Between these two extremes are metal fabricating companies; manufacturers of stone, clay and glass products; and furniture and fixture producers. The extremely low female representation (11 percent) in the very large CB Survey companies is not necessarily typical of all very large durable goods manufacturers; it is primarily related to the kinds of goods they produce.

While the greatest number of employees in durable goods manufacturing in 1970 were semiskilled operatives, there were also many blue-collar craft workers. In keeping with the complex technology generally used in such manufacturing, there were sizable numbers of managers and engineers as well as other professional and technical employees. Relatively few sales workers were employed. About one employee in eight was a clerical worker.

For some time now, durables manufacturing has been experiencing declining blue-collar employment due to increasing mechanization and automation. This downward trend was accentuated by the recession of 1970 and by the even deeper recession in 1975, so the data for both years probably reflect the employment remaining following some blue-collar layoffs, usually based on seniority, and other reductions in the work force.

While clearly outnumbered by the men in such categories, most of the women employed by durable goods manufacturers in 1970 worked on the assembly line or elsewhere in production as semiskilled operatives. They were employed for various kinds of detail work on small products—as punch and stamping press operators, riveters and fasteners, filers, polishers—or they worked as light assemblers, packers and wrappers, checkers, examiners and inspectors. Most clerical jobs in plants— expediters, shipping and stock clerks, timekeepers et cetera—were reserved for men, but the women held most of the clerical jobs in office settings. Indeed, in the very large CB Survey companies, the clerical jobs were the only ones in which women had any substantial representation.

Nonetheless, about 15 percent of all the women working in durables manufacturing companies did hold other kinds of jobs. Most were in low-level professional and technical jobs such as engineering and science technicians, bookkeepers and accountants, computer specialists, nurses and personnel workers; but there were also a few craft workers, including some supervisors of other women—especially in the electrical equipment, photo and professional equipment, and furniture industries. Of course, there were also some service workers.

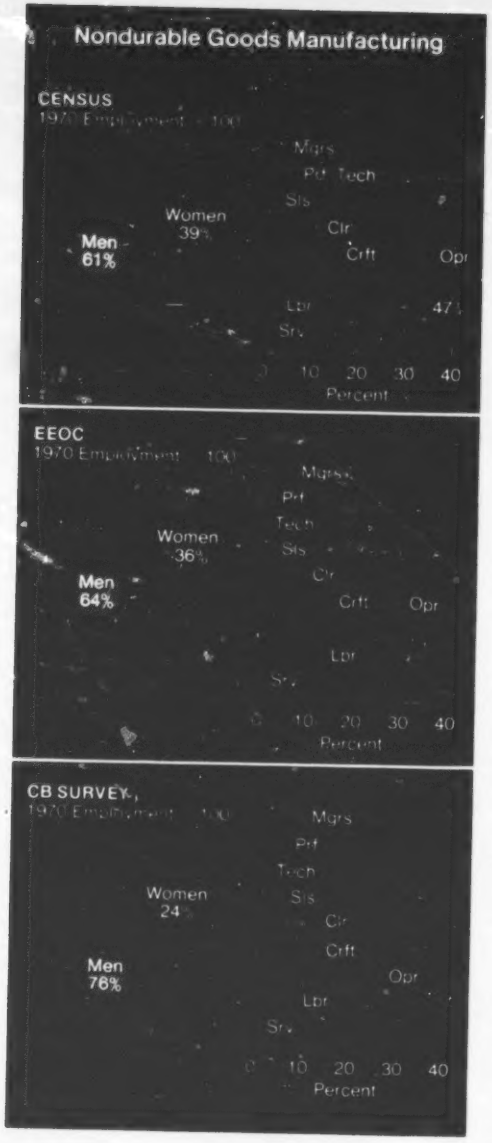
The accompanying histograms summarize the distribution of women and men by occupation in the total work force in durable goods manufacturing in 1970. The width of the bar for each occupational category represents the proportion of the total work force employed in that occupation, while the division by color within each of the bars shows the proportion of women and men working in that category. It is plain that, except in the clerical and semiskilled operative categories (and in companies with 50-100 or more employees in unskilled laborers jobs), women had only token representation in the durable goods work force in 1970. Indeed, in the very large companies that furnished us data, women were not even in the majority in the clerical jobs, and they held less than 10 percent of the operatives jobs.

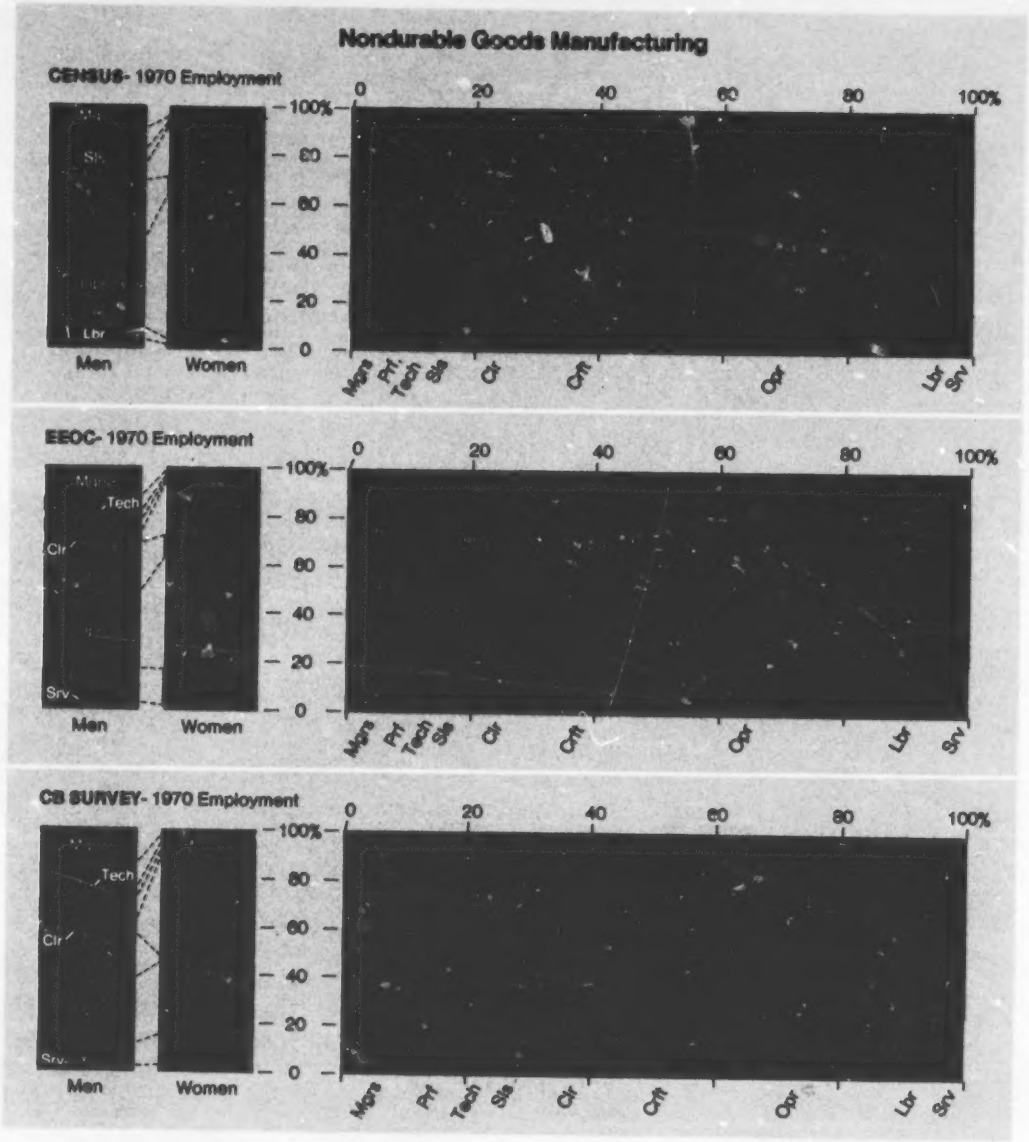
Nondurable Goods Manufacturing in 1970

In 1970, there were eight million persons working for companies manufacturing such nondurable products as food and beverages; tobacco; textiles; clothing; paper, books and other printed matter; chemicals; petroleum and coal products; rubber and plastic products; and leather goods. Five-and-a-half million worked for companies with 50-100 or more employees that reported to the EEOC in that year. The 23 very large CB Survey companies making nondurable goods had an average of 11,000 employees in 1970; thus, they were considerably smaller than the durable goods manufacturers in the CB Survey sample.

Nondurable goods manufacturers have a different mix of occupations in their work force. They have proportionately fewer professional, technical and craft employees and proportionately more sales workers and semiskilled operatives than the durable goods manufacturers do. They also have almost double the proportion of women in the total work force (39 percent compared with 21 percent).

The very large CB Survey companies in nondurables manufacturing have noticeably fewer operatives than most companies do,


Nondurable Goods Manufacturing
CENSUS
Women
39%
Men
61%
Mgrs
Prf
Tech
Sls
Clr
Crft
Opr
Lbr
Srv
0
10
20
30
40
Percent
EEOC
Women
36%
Men
64%
CB SURVEY
Women
24%
Men
76%


Nondurable Goods Manufacturing
CENSUS- 1970 Employment
EEOC- 1970 Employment
CB SURVEY- 1970 Employment
Men
Women
0
20
40
60
80
100%
Mgrs
Prf
Tech
Sls
Clr
Crft
Opr
Lbr
Srv

suggesting greater mechanization or automation of the production processes in their specific industries. Just as in durables manufacturing, the CB Survey companies also have more white-collar jobs than the smaller companies do. And, in 1970, their proportion of female employees is much smaller (only 24 percent compared with 39 percent for the entire industry category).

Most of the women employed by nondurable goods manufacturers work in factories, primarily as semiskilled operatives (although in the companies with 50-100 or more employees many of the women employed in the factories were categorized on the EEO-1 form as laborers). The other very large occupational category for women is, of course, the office and clerical workers.

A very high proportion (45 percent) of the women employed by the CB Survey companies are in clerical occupations, and there is an unexpectedly small proportion of them in the blue-collar work force. On the other hand, a somewhat larger slice of the total female work force of these very large companies is employed in professional and technical occupations.

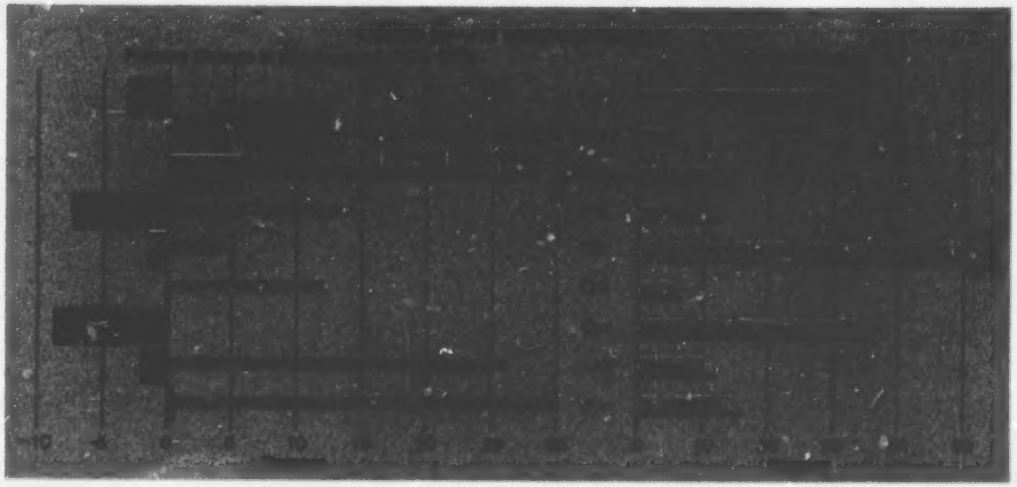
The overwhelming femaleness of the semiskilled operations and clerical job categories and the heavy weighting of these kinds of workers in the total work force make it plain how nondurable goods manufacturers utilize such a high proportion of women. But in 1970, the women clearly did not have a proportionate share of the better paying, more skilled, or more prestigous jobs. They were primarily employed as lower level aides, helpers and performers of repetitive tasks, and rarely as independent decision makers—about their own work or about how the organization should function.

Nonetheless, women had considerably better job opportunities in nondurables manufacturing than in durables. Their representation in every single occupational category—including the upscale managerial professional, technical, sales and craft categories—is higher in nondurable goods manufacturing than it is in durable goods manufacturing. (This holds true for both 1970 and 1975, and regardless of whether one looks at the aggregate data for all companies, the data for companies with over 50-100 employees, or the data for the very large companies that provided us with their statistics. Further discussion of this key point will be found on pages 70 to 77.)

Subsequent Changes in Manufacturing Employment Profiles

Unfortunately, there are no comparable 1970 and 1975 figures to show industrywide changes in employment profiles by occupation and by sex. The best available data can only show the changes between 1972 and 1975. Even so, these industrywide figures, which in effect include companies of all sizes, provide useful reference points when viewing the 1970-1975 changes that occurred in larger manufacturing companies.

As noted earlier, there has been a drop in manufacturing employment that has centered primarily in blue-collar jobs. But the 1972-1975 data show it also extended to the sales and clerical areas. In fact, only two occupational categories show a substantial increase in employment during this period—

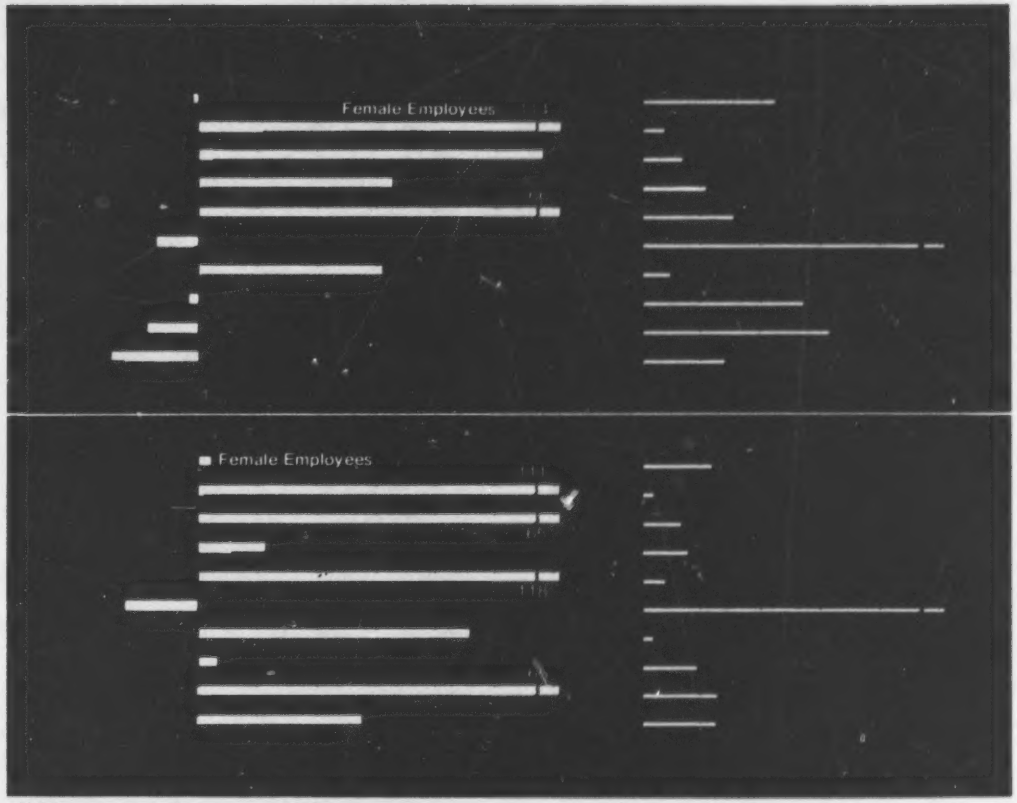


the managerial and the professional categories. The 12 percent growth in the managerial category is especially impressive when one takes into account the fact that much of this increase occurred in the two years between 1972 and 1974, and was then maintained during the 1975 recession.

Generally speaking, the changes in the employment of women in manufacturing from 1972 to 1975 were much more favorable than the changes in the total figures. While women lost some jobs overall due to the substantial drop in their employment as operatives, their decrease in both cases was less than that in the total figures. Furthermore, they experienced absolute gains in employment in every other category—even in those in which total employment was dropping. The largest percentage changes in female employment during the three-year period included increases of 28 to 30 percent in the professional and managerial categories as well as among service workers.

The net result of all these changes appears to have been an increase in the representation of women in every single occupational category between 1972 and 1975. And, while the picture is less clear-cut in the blue-collar occupations, at least in the white- collar occupations there do appear to be increases beyond the 1970 Census levels.

Because women were gaining in clerical employment at the same time the occupational category itself was contracting, the largest change in the proportion of women by 1975 is in the clerical field. In that year, 67 percent of all clerical workers in manufacturing were female. And, although women



did improve their representation among professionals, managers and service workers somewhat, by 1975 the only other occupational category in which they were anywhere near labor-force parity was still the semi-skilled operatives.

1970-1975 Employment Changes in Major Companies

The 1970-1975 changes in the employment profiles in the larger companies reporting to the EEOC and in the very large companies in the CB Survey are in many respects similar to those already considered, but in these major companies they are much more dramatic.[1]

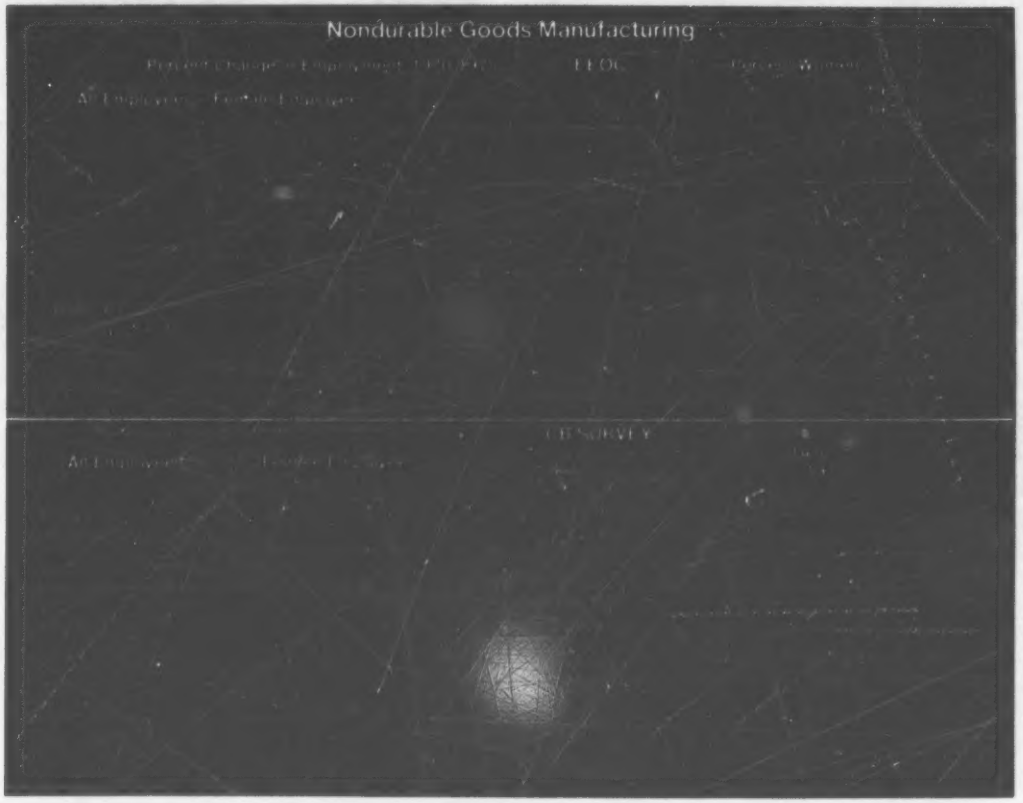
[1]It is possible that some of the growth in employment that is measured by the EEOC data actually results from an increase in the numbers of companies reporting. However, data shown for the CB Survey companies represent a matched sample for the two years, and companies that indicated major acquisitions or mergers were excluded.

By 1975, the major companies showed large increases for women in all occupational categories where very few had been employed in 1970. This makes sense in terms of the kinds of changes one would expect if, as a result of government pressures, both the larger companies reporting to the EEOC and the very large CB Survey companies were making a concerted effort to improve the job opportunities they provided to women. Of course, the addition of only a few women does produce a rather large percentage change if the number employed in the category initially is small. But this does not mean that the change is not a meaningful one; it may represent a highly significant breakthrough in terms of overcoming psychological barriers to change.

Among durables manufacturers with 50-100 or more employees, the service worker category was apparently the only one in which women lost ground, between 1970 and 1975, compared with men. In all the others they appear either to have held on to more than a proportional share of the jobs remaining in a declining category or to have made positive gains. The increases seem especially impressive in the following categories: officials and managers (+114 percent); sales workers (+66 percent); professionals (+58 percent); technicians (+33 percent); and craft workers (+31 percent). It is interesting to note that all these changes occurred with virtually no net change in the reported total number of women employed.

Among the very large CB Survey companies the 1970-1975 gains for women in durables manufacturing are even more impressive, but it must be remembered that these are probably atypical companies and that these are still very masculine occupational worlds. There is no occupational category in which the relative position of women actually deteriorated, and there are several in which the change for women was in a positive direction at the same time employment in the category as a whole was declining. In fact, the only category in which the number of female workers declined is the clerical category, which experienced an even sharper drop in total employment. But, once again, the various increases in female employment were just about offset by this one decrease, so there was only slight growth in total female employment.

Among major nondurable goods manufacturers, some of the 1970-1975 employment changes in favor of women were even greater than they were among major durables companies. This is especially true in the sales worker category, where the gains



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shown are 79 percent and 158 percent in the larger and the very large companies respectively, but the gain for women among officials and managers in CB Survey companies is an equally impressive 161 percent. On the other hand, changes in craft employment seem to have yielded a mixed bag for women—they clearly seem to have lost ground in companies with 50-100 or more employees, but they did not among our special CB Survey group of nondurables firms.

Something special has been happening for women in major companies in both durables and nondurables manufacturing. The total amount of change achieved by 1975 was still quite small, but the job opportunities being provided to women were definitely improving. Although some cynics might say that all these major manufacturers had really done was to take a few women out of certain job categories and redistribute them into those categories showing gains for women, that explanation is much too simplistic. It is indeed approximately the net result of all the changes to date, but the actual change processes themselves have almost certainly been far more complex. They would necessarily include both input and output staffing flows for hundreds of specific jobs in hundreds of companies at hundreds of locations over a full five-year period.

Reverse Discrimination?

The mere fact that there is a much higher percentage change between 1970 and 1975 in the employment of women than in the total employment of an occupational category does not mean that the major companies have been practicing "reverse discrimination." Many job openings that occur are simply to replace persons who have quit, retired, been promoted, et cetera, and they do not yield any net change in total employment. Companies are required to provide women with equal employment opportunity for all such "replacement" job openings, so the percentage increase for women—who had previously been denied access to these jobs—can easily be many times the percentage increase in total employment without necessarily indicating any unlawful discrimination against men.

Knowledgeable observers do believe that most of the improvements in job opportunities for women probably occurred after the AT&T consent decree was signed early in 1973. Thus, assuming continued emphasis on equal employment opportunity, there is considerable likelihood that the change processes which have begun will accelerate considerably over the next five years.

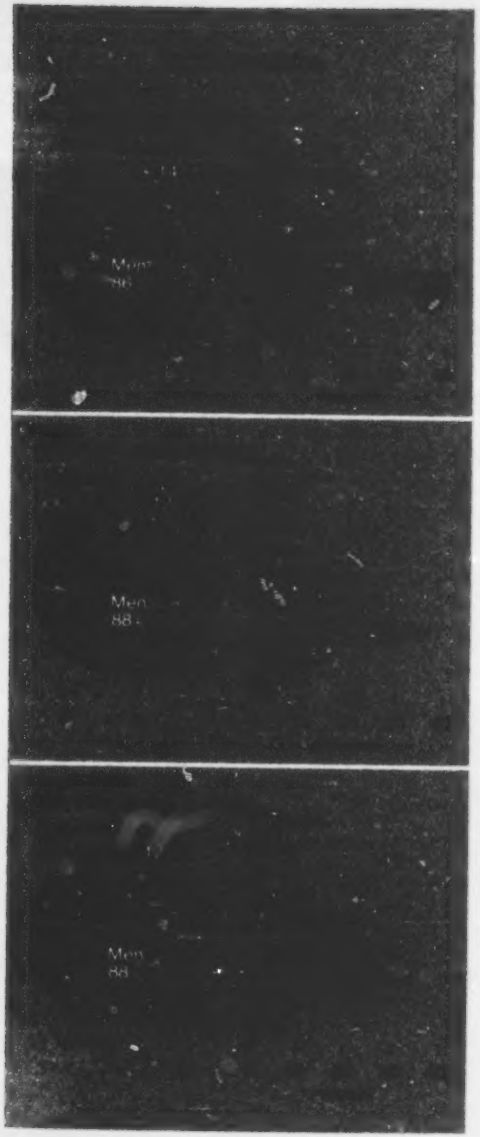
Have many very large companies already achieved nondiscrimination for women in all of their employment processes for all kinds of jobs and at all organizational levels? Most will frankly admit that they still have not—but they usually hasten to add that they are working very hard and in good faith toward just that goal. This chartbook does not deal with whether companies complied with the federal nondiscrimination laws and regulations. It seeks instead to establish how much improvement actually occurred in the job opportunities various kinds of employers provide for women.

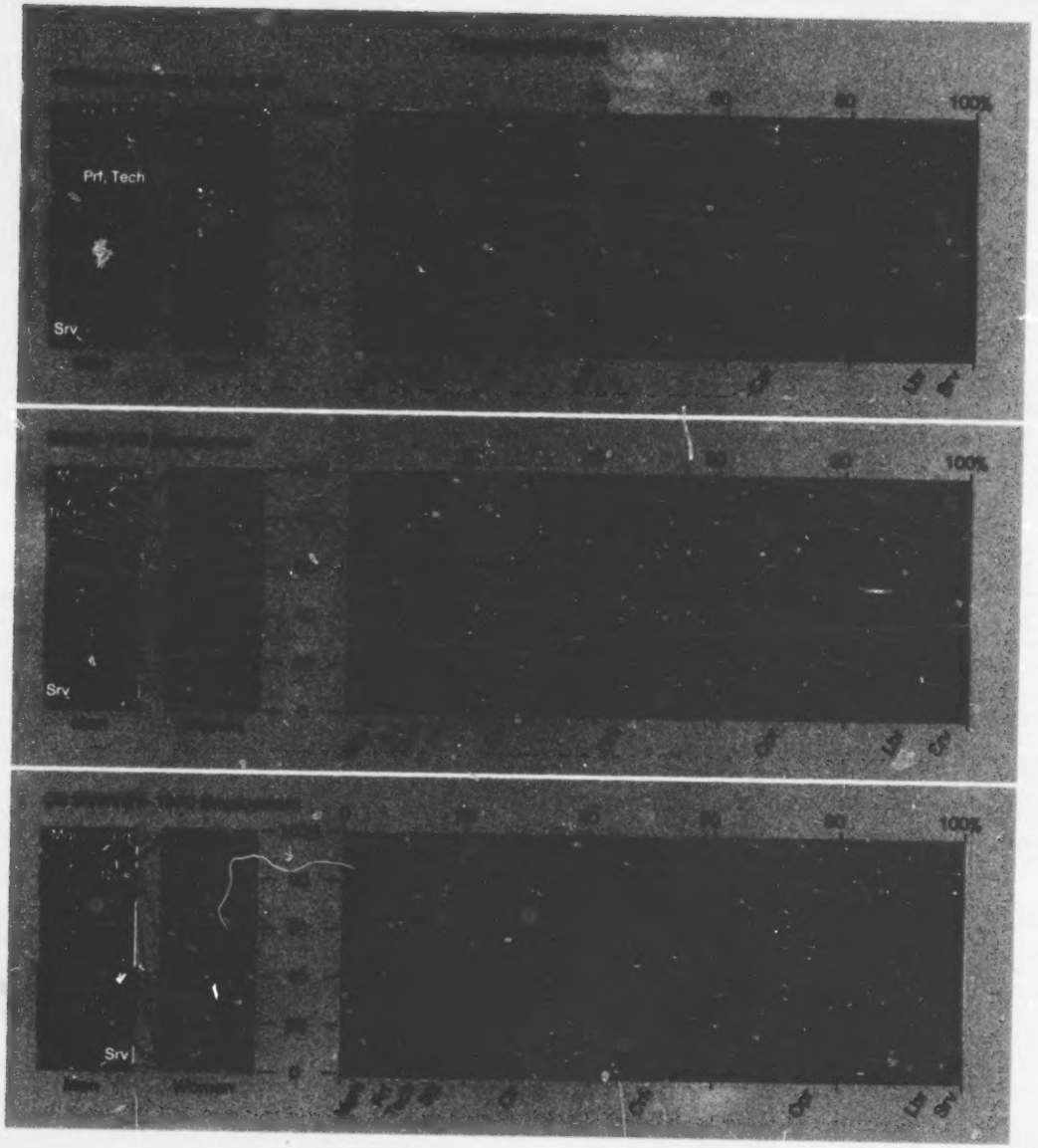
Public Utilities

In 1970, according to the Census, there were over 5 million people employed in public utility industries—in transportation, communications, electric and gas utilities, and sanitary services. They represented about one out of every sixteen persons in the U.S. work force. Of these, well over half worked for transportation companies; another fifth were in various kinds of communications organizations; the remainder were employed by the electric and gas utilities and sanitary services. Because of the inclusion of government-owned utilities and sanitary services in this Census industry category, in 1970 about 12 percent of the total work force in the public utility industries consisted of government employees. Sometimes it is not possible to separate the employment statistics for private electric and gas utility companies from those for the government workers in utilities and sanitary services. Whenever this happens it will be indicated, but tests of 1970 data suggest that the percentage figures relating to male-female employment for the privately owned companies alone would probably not be too different.

Transportation in 1970

In 1970, over 2.8 million Americans worked for organizations involved in the movement of goods or people. The kinds of transportation and related services provided by these organizations include both local and interurban taxi, bus and rail transit, trucking and warehousing; transportation by air, pipeline and water. Many of the companies are relatively small; less than 60 percent of





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the industry's 1970 work force was employed by the companies with 50-100 or more employees that reported to the EEOC. The very large companies that provided the CB Survey with employment data had an average of 19,000 employees in 1970; they are, however, not typical of all very large transportation companies.

Many equipment operatives are required to provide most forms of transportation. Some of the more common jobs of this kind are truck driver, bus driver, taxicab driver, railroad switch operator and brake operator. Locomotive engineers, who are regarded as craft workers, railroad conductors, who are classified as managers, and airplane pilots, who are considered professional employees, are also numerous. In addition, there are many mechanics and repairers who maintain the transportation equipment and many other employees who are directly involved in handling or keeping track of the goods and people being moved—freight and materials handlers, delivery and route workers, longshore workers, vehicle dispatchers, shipping and receiving clerks, flight attendants, ticket agents, and so on. And, of course, there is the usual array of managerial, clerical and other jobs common to most businesses.

With the exception of a few highly stereotyped female jobs, the transportation industry has clearly been a man's occupational world. In 1970, women represented only 14 percent of the industry's total work force and only 12 percent of the work force in the larger firms.

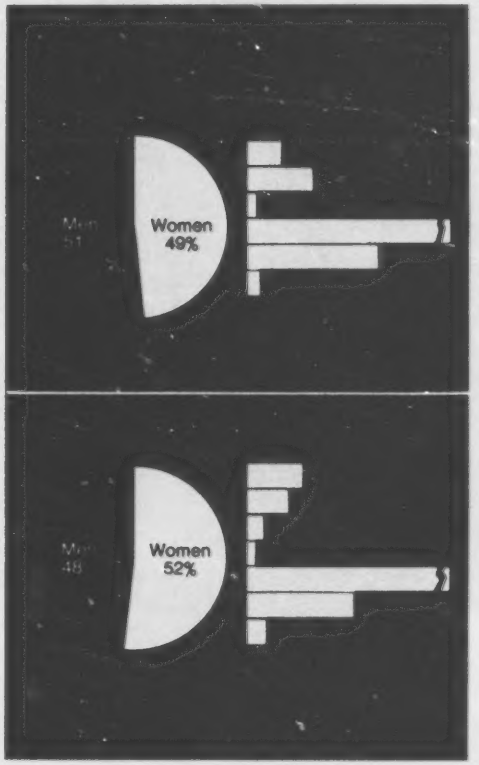
Fifty-six percent of the women employed in the transportation industry in 1970 were clerical workers. Nineteen percent were transport operatives, primarily local bus drivers, and eleven percent were service workers, primarily airline flight attendants. The remaining 14 percent were scattered in other occupations.

In the larger companies reporting to the EEOC the mix of female occupations was somewhat different, possibly because of differences in job classifications. There were far fewer female operatives and many more women sales workers. (While counted as clerical workers in the Census data, railroad and bus line ticket agents, and airlines counter personnel, may have been listed as sales workers on some EEO-1 forms.) The very large companies that provided employment statistics in the CB Survey happen to have a very large proportion of their female employees engaged in sales work, but this is probably not typical of all very large transportation companies.

At first glance the overall male-female distribution by occupation in the transportation industry might give the impression that a considerable variety of opportunities were being made available to the small female work force. But knowing that this "variety" actually consists of several highly stereotyped female occupations counteracts that surface impression. The higher status jobs are still clearly in the masculine domain. The segregated employment patterns for women are especially evident in the 1970 employmen: histograms for the larger companies.

Communications in 1970

Nearly 1.1 million persons were employed in the communications industry in 1970. The vast majority of these workers (82 percent) were employed in those firms with more than 50-100 employees that reported to the EEOC. (Indeed, one company — AT&T — has estimated it had over 750,000 employees in its operating companies in 1970.) In addition to telephone and telegraph companies, some of which are quite large independents, the other major employers in the communications industry are associated with radio and television: both the broadcasting



stations, many of which have very few employees; and also the networks.

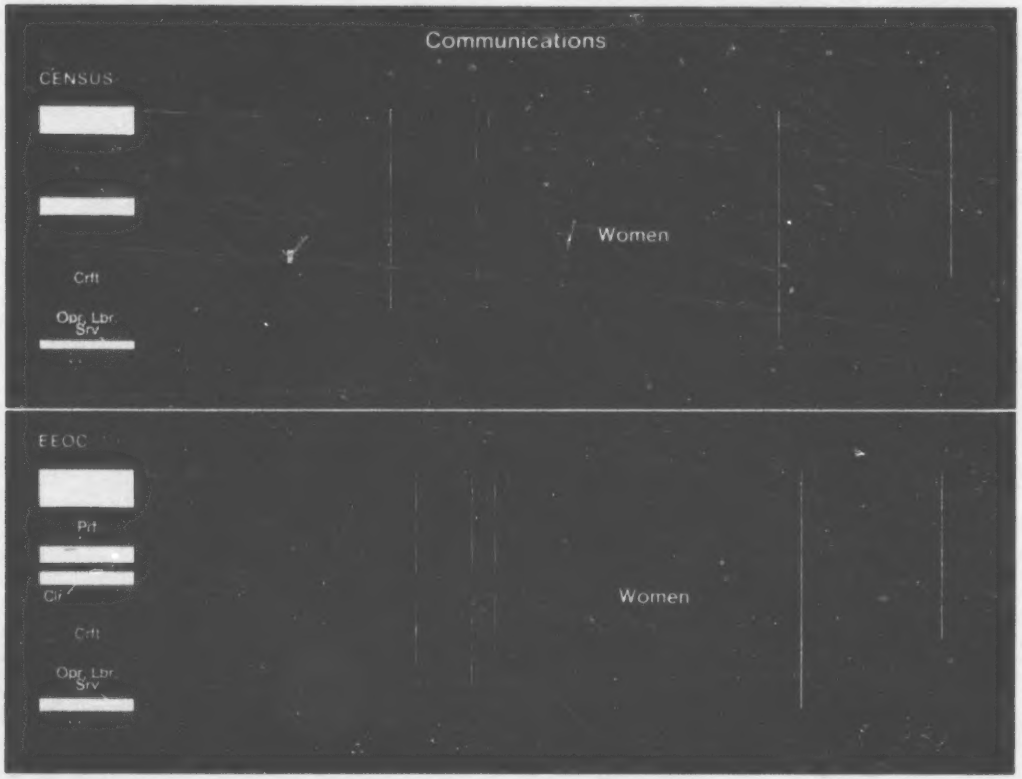
In contrast to other regulated public utility industries, the communications industry's work force is dominated by clerical workers, the Census category that includes telephone operators. There are also many craft workers and professional and technical employees employed to install, control and maintain the various kinds of sophisticated equipment. But, by comparison with other industries, there are relatively few service workers, laborers, operatives or sales workers in this industry.

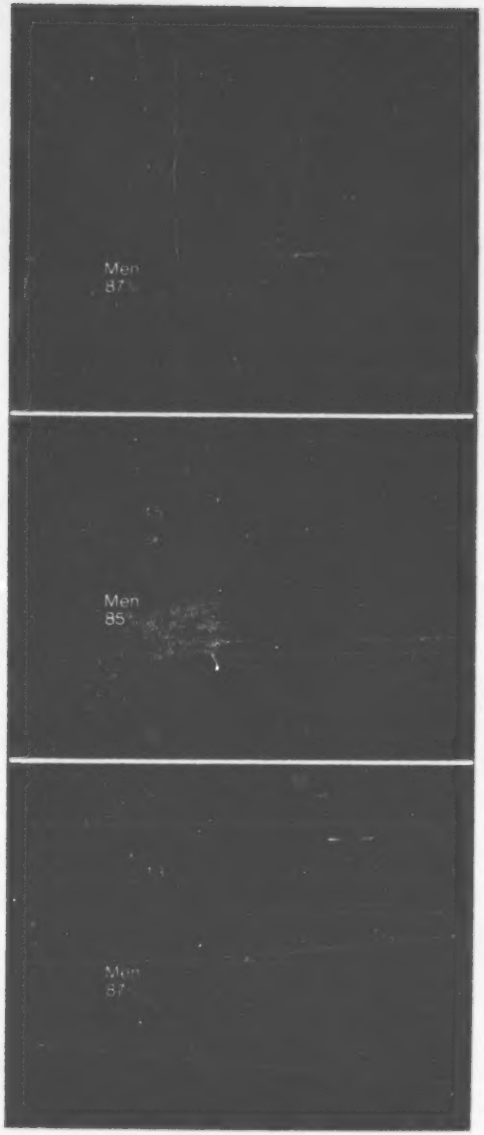
In view of the large numbers of clerical workers involved, it is not too suprising that just about half of all the employees in the communications industry in 1970 were women. Indeed, in the larger companies reporting to the EEOC, 52 percent of the workers were female.

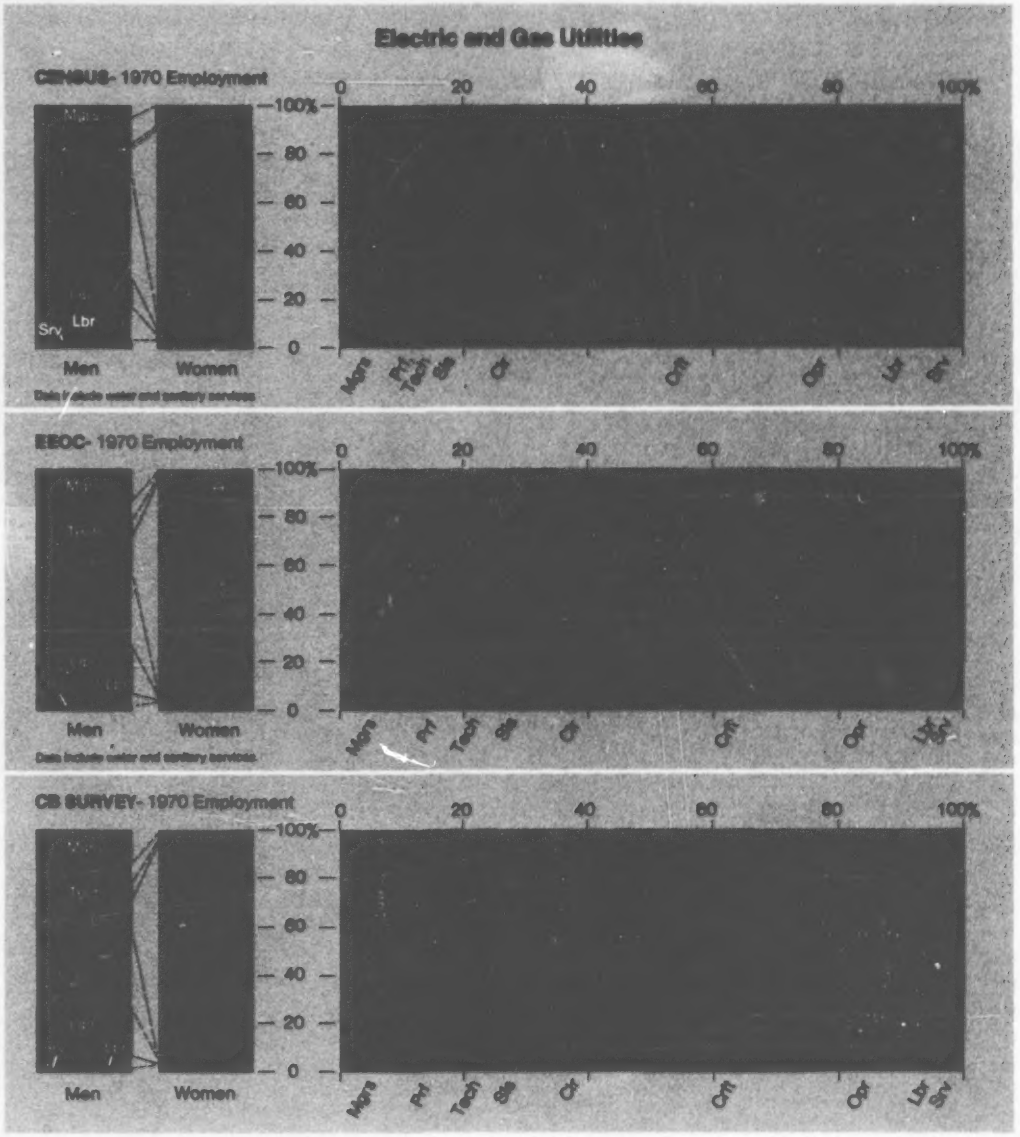
There has been severe occupational segregation of women in the communications industry. In 1970, 88 percent of all the women were clerical workers, including many who were telephone operators. And yet, at the same time, there have also been some unusual specific occupational patterns for women. For example, although only 5 percent of the women were employed as professionals and technicians in 1970, they included somewhat larger numbers of female drafters and female engineers compared with the numbers found in other industries.

The histogram of the employment patterns in the industry in 1970 clearly shows the overwhelming dominance of women in the clerical occupations (over 90 percent); their virtually total exclusion from the craft jobs (only 4 percent representation); and their moderate representation (15 to 17 percent) in both the managerial and professional categories. The picture is similar in the somewhat larger companies reporting to the EEOC, although—probably due to heavy female representation among first-level supervisors of other women—the proportion of women managers is considerably higher (35 percent).

Comparable data for very large communications companies in 1970 are not available from the CB Survey; they are, of course, very likely to have been included in the EEOC data. Some information with respect to the representation of women in the work force of AT&T's operating companies at the end of 1972 is presented on page 52.




Men
87
Men
85
Men
87


Electric and Gas Utilities
CENSUS- 1970 Employment
0
20
40
60
80
100%
100%
80
60
40
20
0
Men
Women
Mgrs
Prf
Tech
Skl
Clr
Opr
Opr
Lbr
Srv
EEOC- 1970 Employment
CB SURVEY- 1970 Employment

Electric and Gas Utilities in 1970

In 1970, there were over 996,000 persons at work in organizations providing the public with gas, electricity and sanitary services. Of these, about 683,000 worked for electric and gas utilities.

Being regulated monopolies operating within limited geographical areas, most utilities have considerably fewer employees than the giant manufacturers do. In 1970, only 56 percent of all the electric and gas utility and sanitary service employees worked for the companies with 50-100 or more employees that reported to the EEOC.[1] For the very large electric and gas utilities in the CB Survey, the average number of workers in 1970 was 4,700.

As might be expected, engineering, technical and craft occupations account for unusually large proportions of the employment in all the electric and gas utilities. Clerical workers are another well-populated category; in addition to the usual inside jobs of secretary, typist, bookkeeper and office-machine operator, there is the major outside clerical job of meter reader. On the other hand, there are very few sales workers, for each utility is very likely to be the sole source of supply of its particular form(s) of energy in its area.

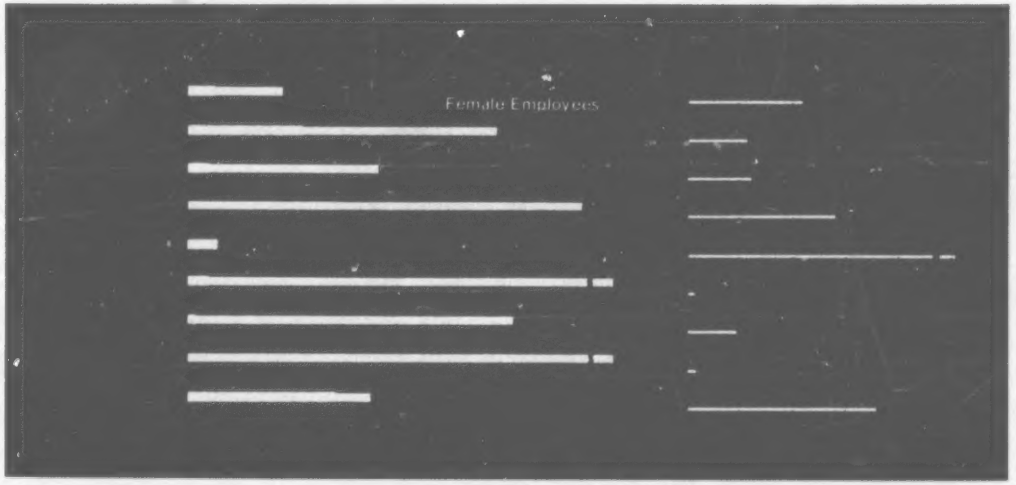
Given the technical nature of the business, it is not too surprising to find that electric and gas companies have heavily male-dominated work forces. In 1970, regardless of company size, less than 15 percent of the employees were female. But, more than that, this is an industry in which even those few women who have been employed have been limited to highly stereotyped roles.

In 1970, over 80 percent of the women employed by the utilities held clerical positions. In both the somewhat larger and the very large companies the concentration was even more severe—the figures are close to 90 percent. The few other female employees were likely to be either professional or service workers; only small numbers were scattered in the other occupational categories.

The almost total lack of representation of women outside the clerical category is vividly illustrated by the 1970 histograms showing the distribution of male-female employment by occupation. In fact, due to the fact that over 97 percent of all meter readers were male, the women did not even hold their usual clearly dominant position in the clerical category.

Subsequent Changes in Employment Profiles

The best available statistics that show recent changes in employment profiles by occupation and by sex for all the public utility industries only cover the period from 1972 (rather than 1970) to 1975. Nonetheless, because these figures do summarize what has happened in all sizes of public utility companies, even the very small ones, they still serve as good reference points to use when examining the 1970-1975 changes in employment profiles in the major companies.

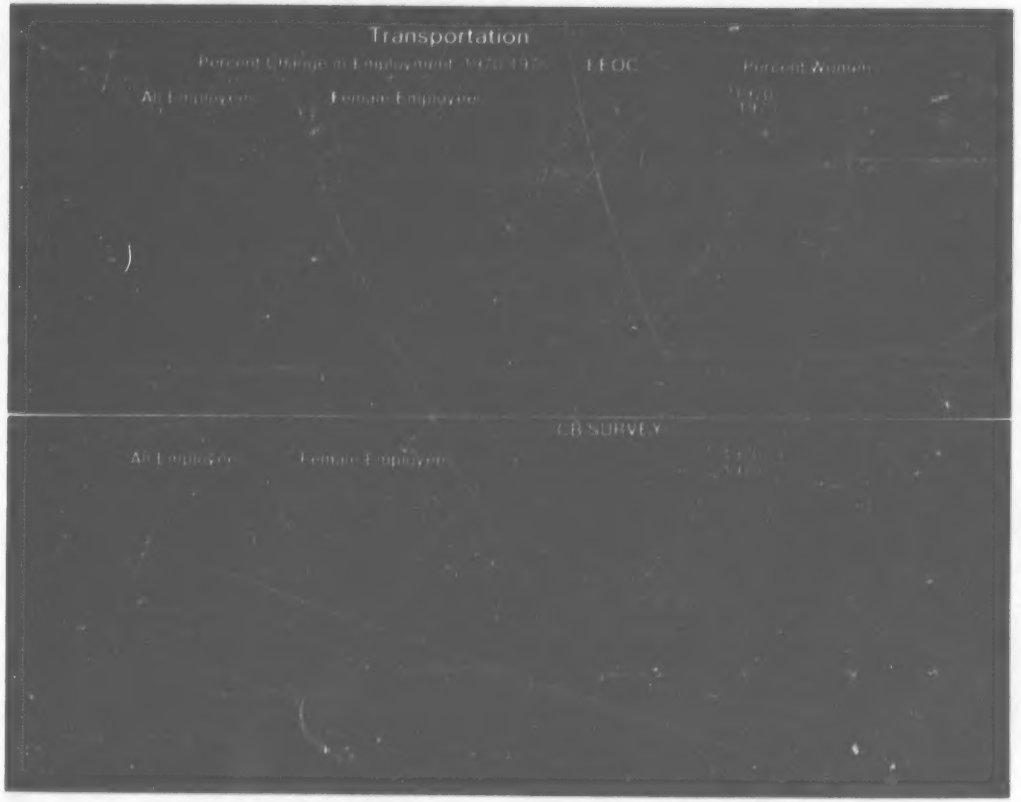


[1]The aggregates include private companies providing water supply and sanitary services, and these are likely to be considerably smaller than the private electric and gas companies.

Unlike the decline in employment in manufacturing, there was modest growth in the work force in the public utility industries between 1972 and 1975. Total employment increased by about 3 percent. Both the managerial and the service worker categories showed increases in employment of more than 10 percent during this three-year period, but, as might be expected due to the combined effects of the energy crisis and the 1975 recession, there was a drop in the already tiny number of sales workers. All other occupational categories experienced only modest changes in total employment.

As for the women in the public utility industries, between 1972 and 1975 their total employment increased by 9 percent, and, unlike the men, they experienced at least some increase in employment in every occupational category. Indeed, with the exception of the clerical category—where the increase for women (+3 percent)—was slightly less than the modest increase in total clerical employment (+4 percent), the percentage gains for women were noticeably greater than those in total employment in all occupational categories. They ranged from increases of about 18 percent in the number of female professional and service workers through increases of 30 to 40 percent for women in the managerial, sales and operative categories. Even higher 1972-1975 percentage changes occurred in the laborer and craft categories, but by 1975 the representation of women in such jobs in the public utility industries was still less than 2 percent.

The most impressive change in the representation of women measured in 1970, 1972, and 1975, appears to have occurred in the sales category, but because sales occupations account for only about one percent of the total employment in these industries, the exact size of this gain is questionable. Less spectacular, but perhaps more important, increases of a percentage point or two were apparently made in the proportion of women in more populous occupations—in the managerial ranks, among operatives, and among service workers. The women's share of professional-technical and clerical jobs, meanwhile, held steady during this period.



1970-1975 Employment Changes in Major Companies

Changes in Transportation. The companies with 50-100 or more employees who reported to the EEOC experienced a gain in

female employment of only 9 percent, while their total employment declined slightly. The women more than held their share of the declining employment in the clerical and service occupations and they achieved slight positive gains in representation in all the other categories. Changing the occupational mix apparently helped to redistribute the opportunities provided to women.

In the very large transportation companies submitting matched 1970 and 1975 data in the CB Survey the picture was even more gloomy. Both total employment and female employment dropped more than 3 percent between 1970 and 1975, and the outcome for women by occupation was also not very favorable. The women lost ground compared with the men in the following categories; officials and managers; sales workers; craft workers; laborers; service workers. Indeed, the only occupational categories in which women improved both their absolute and relative number of jobs were the professional and (just barely) the operative categories. They also held on to more than their share of a declining number of clerical jobs.

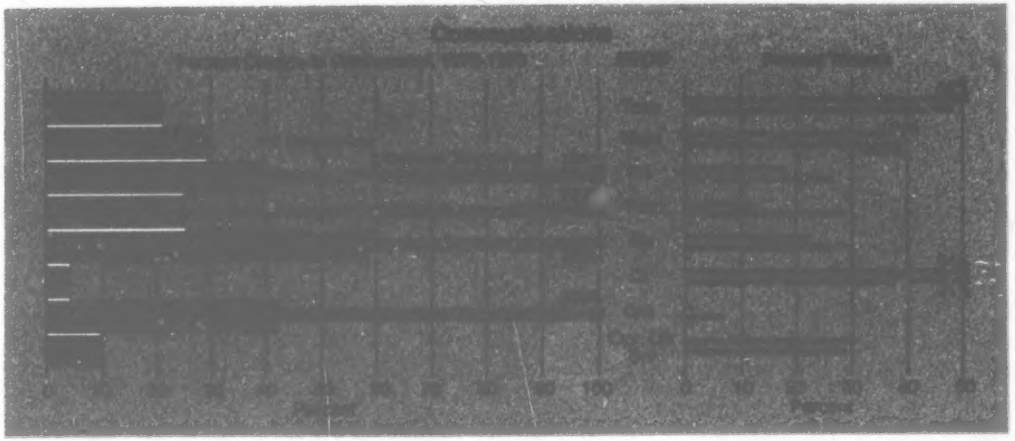
Thus, unlike most of the other industry categories studied, between 1970 and 1975 these very large companies in the transportation industry were apparently relatively unsuccessful in improving the job opportunities they provided to women. (This does not, of course, necessarily mean that these companies have not been responding with appropriate affirmative action to the various federal EEO laws and regulations. There are many valid reasons why, despite good-faith efforts, the results for women might be so disappointing.)

The failure of women even to maintain their share of the officials and managers and craft jobs in these very large companies seems especially serious for—each in its own sphere— these two categories epitomize the better paying, higher status, upscale jobs which few women had previously been allowed to hold.

Changes in Communications. Between 1970 and 1975 there was an increase of 21 percent in the size of the work force in the somewhat larger communications companies reporting to the EEOC. Some of this may have been due to an increase in the number of companies reporting, but in any event the increase in the female work force reported for the same time period was only 12 percent, and the proportion of women within the total work force covered dropped from 52 to 48 percent.

At first glance there appears to be a significant loss of female representation in the officials and managers category in these somewhat larger commuications companies; but it is offset by very strong gains in female representation in the professional, technical and sales categories. (Like the female officials and managers, many of these women would be on the "exempt" salaried payroll, so the figures may merely be reflecting terminological distinctions rather than truly meaningful differences.)

On the other hand, there has been a clear increase in the representation of women in the growing craft occupations and a decline in their representation in the clerical occupations, which are themselves becoming relatively less important within the total employment picture. Thus, while the details of the changes are not always totally clear, the net effect does seem to have been an overall reduction in the occupational



Improving Job Opportunities for Women at AT&T

In January of 1973, AT&T signed a far-reaching consent decree with the Federal Government with respect to providing equal employment opportunities to women and minorities in all the Bell System operating companies. The agreement included rigorous goals and timetables for increasing the representation of women and minorities in the higher levels of management and in both inside and outside skilled craft jobs. Goals and timetables were also established for bringing males into clerical jobs. The agreement has been subject to constant monitoring by both AT&T corporate management and the government under court supervision. The progress reported for women from the end of 1972 to the end of 1975 is summarized below.

Representation of Women

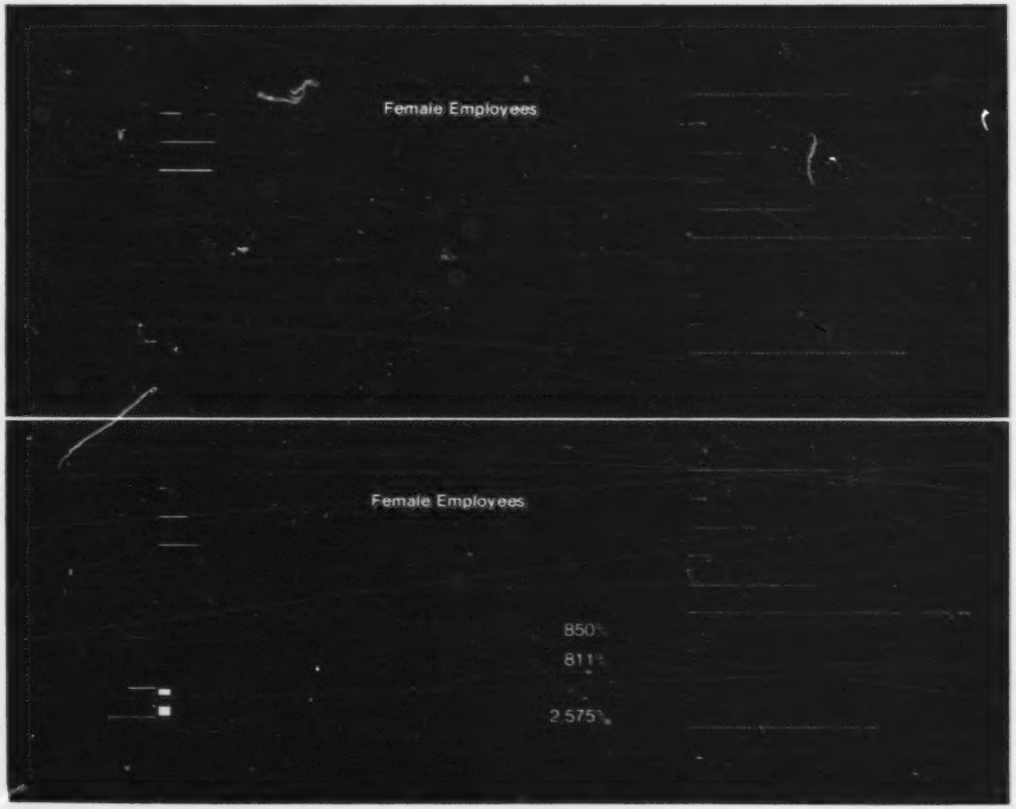
*AT&T Job Categories**	*End 1972*	*End 1975*
1—Middle and upper management	2.2%	4.5%
2—Second-level management	11.2	15.7
3+4—Entry-level management and administrative	44.4	43.6
1-4—All management	33.3	33.5
5—Sales	26.5	37.1
6+9—Outside crafts	0.2	1.5
7+10—Inside crafts	6.0	12.8
11-13—Clerical	96.0	90.8
14—Operators	98.6	94.4
All Categories	Remained	52-53%
Total employment	793,000	782,000

*Job category 8 no longer exists; 15, service workers, is being limited.

Source: AT&T

segregation of the women within the somewhat larger companies in the communications industry between 1970 and 1975.

Too few communications companies provided The Conference Board with their EEO-1 forms for both 1970 and 1975 to permit an analysis of employment data from a matched sample of very large companies. Information is available with respect to AT&T's progress under its historic 1973 consent decree, but the data are not expressed in terms of the EEO-1 job categories. (See the box on this page.)



Changes in Electric and Gas Utilities. As in most of the industries studied, in the larger electric and gas utility companies the 1975 picture was somewhat more favorable to women than the one in 1970.[2] Except in the craft and operative jobs where numbers are too small to assess with confidence, there has been a slight increase in the proportional representation of women in all of the occupational categories since 1970. Some of these changes do represent absolute gains in female employment, but others merely show that women have maintained a larger share of the employment in a declining occupational category.

Sizable absolute and relative gains in the employment of women occurred in the following occupational categories in both the somewhat larger and the very large utilities: officials and managers, professionals and technicians. Due to the very small numbers of women so employed in 1970, there were also phenomenal percentage increases from 1970 to 1975 in the employment of women as craft workers, operatives and laborers in the very big companies. Of course, the overall importance of these huge percentage changes needs to be downplayed because of the very limited number of women actually involved, but the changes may nonetheless have real significance as breakthroughs of some strong psychological barriers against the employment of *any* women in such roles.

Women also improved their relative representation in sales work but, probably due to the energy crisis, this has been a sharply declining occupational category in utility companies. A decline also occurred in the service worker category in the very large companies. Other job categories in which overall employment either declined or showed minimal growth between 1970 and 1975 were clerical workers, operatives and laborers. Any positive trends in the employment of women in these categories were, therefore, achieved in spite of a rather limited number of opportunities.

[2]As mentioned earlier in the chapter, data for companies reporting to the EEOC include not only the electric and gas utilities but private sanitary services as well. However, despite the lack of strict comparability with the CB Survey statistics, a similar direction of employment change is reflected in both sets of figures.

Trade

BOTH WHOLESALE AND RETAIL TRADE are included in the same broad industry category in the Census. But retailing is much the larger field in terms of employment, and its male-female patterns are quite different from those in wholesaling. The major part of this section deals with retailing. A brief description of the more limited data available about wholesaling appears at the end.

Retail Trade in 1970

In 1970, a total of 12 million persons, or one out of every six U.S. workers, were employed in retailing operations. There are, of course, many different kinds of retailing businesses—large department stores, mail order firms, variety and discount chains, home furnishings and appliance stores, clothing and accessory stores, automotive dealers, grocery stores, liquor stores, gasoline service stations, restaurants, drug stores, and many others.

Even to begin to list them is to be reminded that most retail operations are small, independent businesses—each with a very few employees. In fact, they are one of the major kinds of business that make up what is sometimes called the secondary labor market—the small local firms that provide many teenagers, minority group members, women, older persons, or otherwise disadvantaged individuals with relatively unskilled, low-paying jobs that offer few fringe benefits, little job stability, and virtually no chance for advancement.

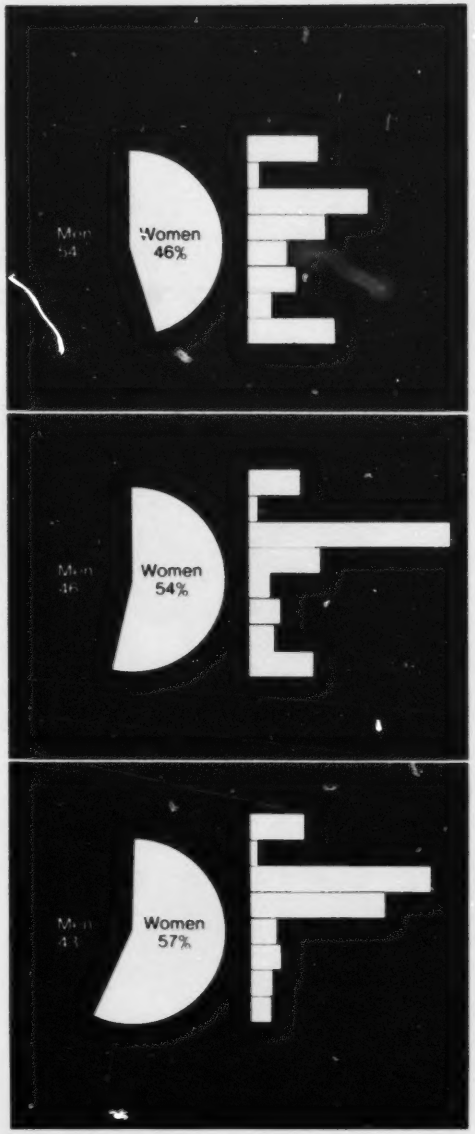
On the other hand, there were 3 million of the 12 million retailing employees in 1970

who worked for companies with 100 or more employees that reported to the EEOC.[1] Less than ten very large retailing companies provided us with matched employment statistics for 1970 and 1975 in the CB Survey, but they averaged well over 60,000 employees each. Needless to say, they should not be regarded as typical of all—even all very large—retailers.

With such a diversity of employers being represented, it is not too surprising that the occupational patterns found in the three groups of employers differ so markedly. In the industry as a whole, the work force is very diverse, with the largest numbers of employees being, quite appropriately, in the sales, service and clerical categories. In keeping with the small size of most of the operations, there are large numbers of managers, too; in fact, professional and technical workers are the only group that seems slighted. The work force in the companies with 100 or more employees that reported to the EEOC in 1970 is more heavily sales oriented, and in the CB Survey companies two categories of employees—the sales workers and the office and clerical workers clearly predominate.

The whole industry is a female-intensive one, with women making up 46 percent of the 1970 employment, compared with the average of 31 percent for the corporate sector as a whole and 38% for the whole economy. In both the larger and very large

[1]Relatively few retailers are government contractors, so most retailers reporting to the EEOC would have 100 or more employees.

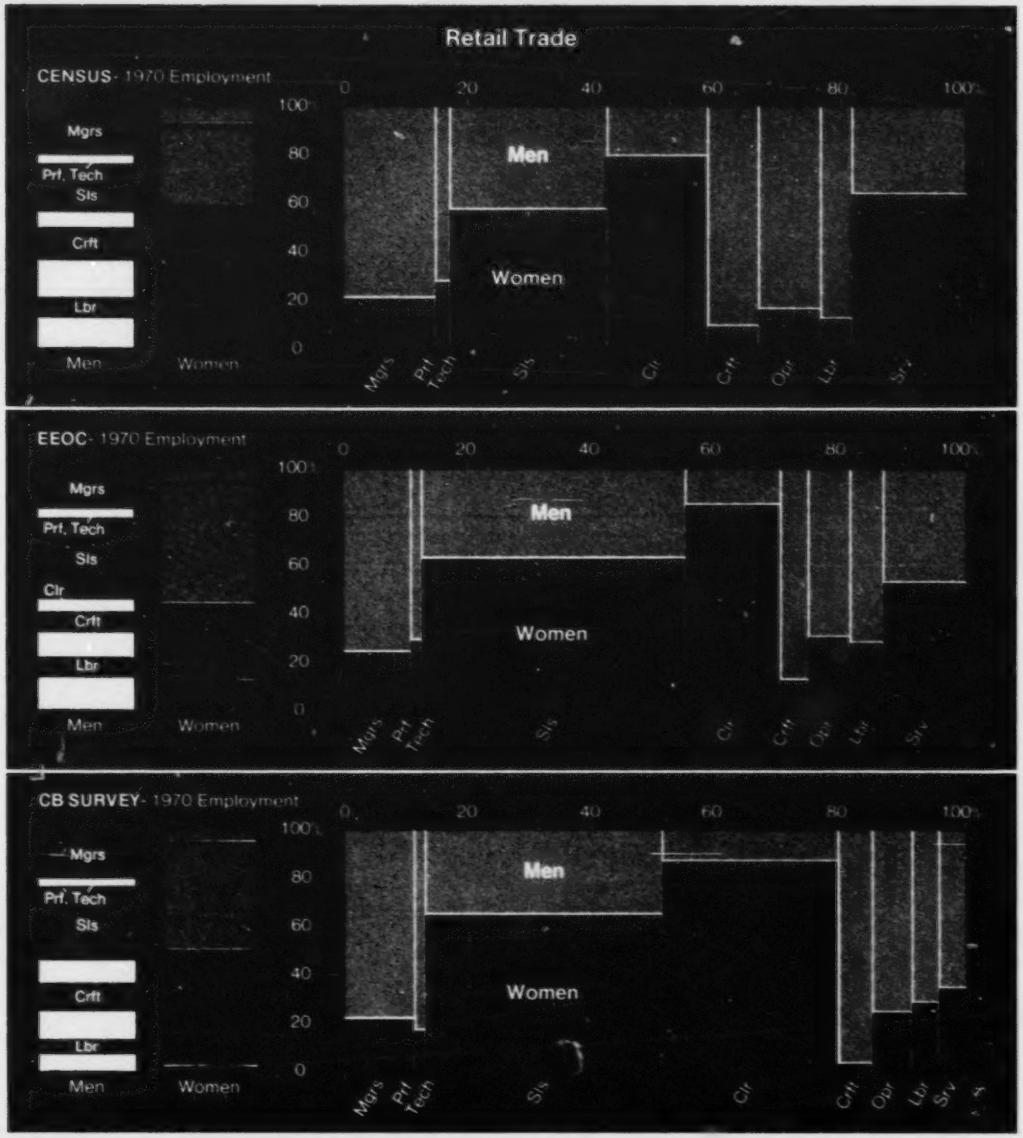


companies represented, well over half the work force is female.

Despite the heavy representation of women in the work force, their 1970 occupational patterns were by no means as diverse as those for male employees. Instead, all but 15 percent of them were in only three highly stereotyped roles: sales worker; clerical worker; service worker. Furthermore, although women made up 58 percent of the entire sales worker category, they were rarely found in the higher paying sales jobs—for example, selling automobiles, farm equipment, furniture, carpeting, major appliances, or other "big ticket" items. Instead they were primarily in the lower paying jobs—sales clerks for many of the smaller, less expensive items. The usual office-clerical jobs were abundant, and women did about 80 percent of them in 1970. As for the service workers, eight out of every ten of the women in this category were cooks, waiters or other food-service personnel in the restaurant business.

Almost exactly half of the women in the larger companies reporting to the EEOC were sales clerks, and there were correspondingly fewer clerical and service workers in that female labor force. In the very large companies for whom we have data there were many more clerical employees but because they apparently had few restaurant operations, even fewer service workers.

Even though the basic employment pattern for women in retailing was—and still is—so heavily concentrated in those three stereotyped occupational roles, it is important to note that they also held a much larger proportion of the managerial jobs than they



did in any other industry. In 1970, over 60 percent of all women in management positions within the corporate sector worked in retail businesses, and 21 percent of all retail managers were women. Those women were most likely to be found as restaurant managers, buyers and department heads, or general managers in food, general merchandise, or clothing stores. The proportion of women managers was just as high in the larger and very large retailing companies represented, but they may not, of course, have had that representation in the highest levels of management.

The smaller residual group of occupations includes professionals and various blue- collar jobs. Women were moderately well represented in accounting and personnel work and in miscellaneous artistic tasks largely related to displays and advertising. But, as craft workers and operatives, women were again segregated—primarily being dressmakers and wrappers of food and other goods, while the men worked primarily as auto mechanics; household appliance, radio and TV repairers, butchers, garage and gas station workers.

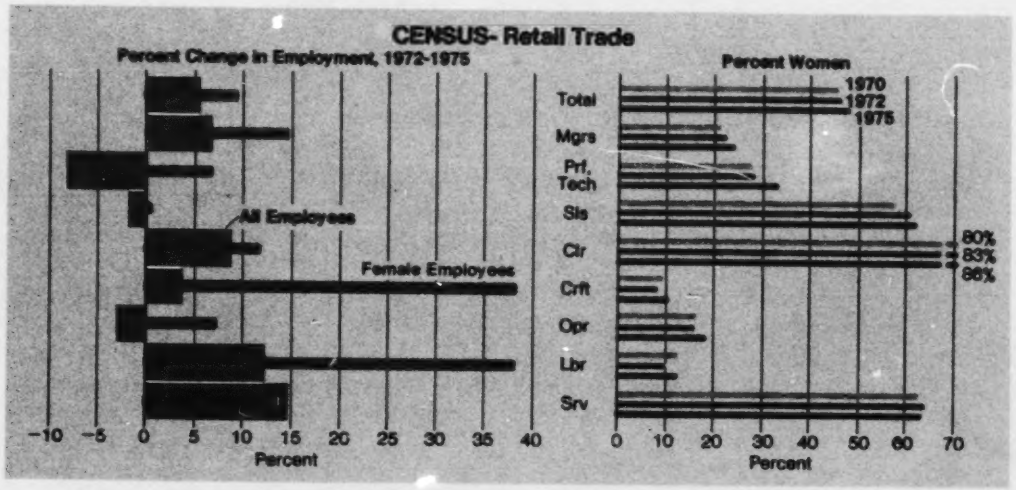
Subsequent Changes in Retailing Employment Profiles

Due primarily to the 1975 recession, the overall growth in retailing employment slowed to only a 5 percent increase between 1972 and 1975, the years which give the best measure of recent changes in employment patterns by both occupation and sex for the entire industry. The greatest increase in employment was in the lowest paying job

categories—among service workers and unskilled laborers it ran 12 to 15 percent. Smaller increases of 7 to 9 percent occurred among clerical employees and managers; the relatively small craft worker gains of 4 percent were offset by operative and sales worker losses of 2 to 3 percent. There was also a drop of 8 percent in the employment of professionals and technicians.

Despite this spotty pattern in the 1972-1975 changes in total retailing employment, the employment of women increased by 10 percent overall so that they became 48 percent of the work force. And their employment in every occupational category either increased or at least held steady. Percentage increases of about 38 percent occurred for women in craft worker and laborer jobs, the two categories in which they had the lowest representation, but these increases translated into only a 2 to 3 percent change in the proportion of women holding such jobs. Similarly, while the number of women in retailing management increased by 15 percent between 1972 and 1975, due to the overall growth of the category their representation increased by only one percentage point to 24 percent. On the other hand, because of the decline in total employment in the already small professional and technical category at the same time the employment of women was increasing by 7 percent, women experienced a net gain of 5 percentage points, improving their representation to 33 percent in this category.

Two of the segregated job categories for women in retailing became even more so during the 1972-1975 period. In sales the women's very modest 1 percent gain in employment translated into a 2 percentage point increase in representation, bringing them up to 63 percent of all sales workers.



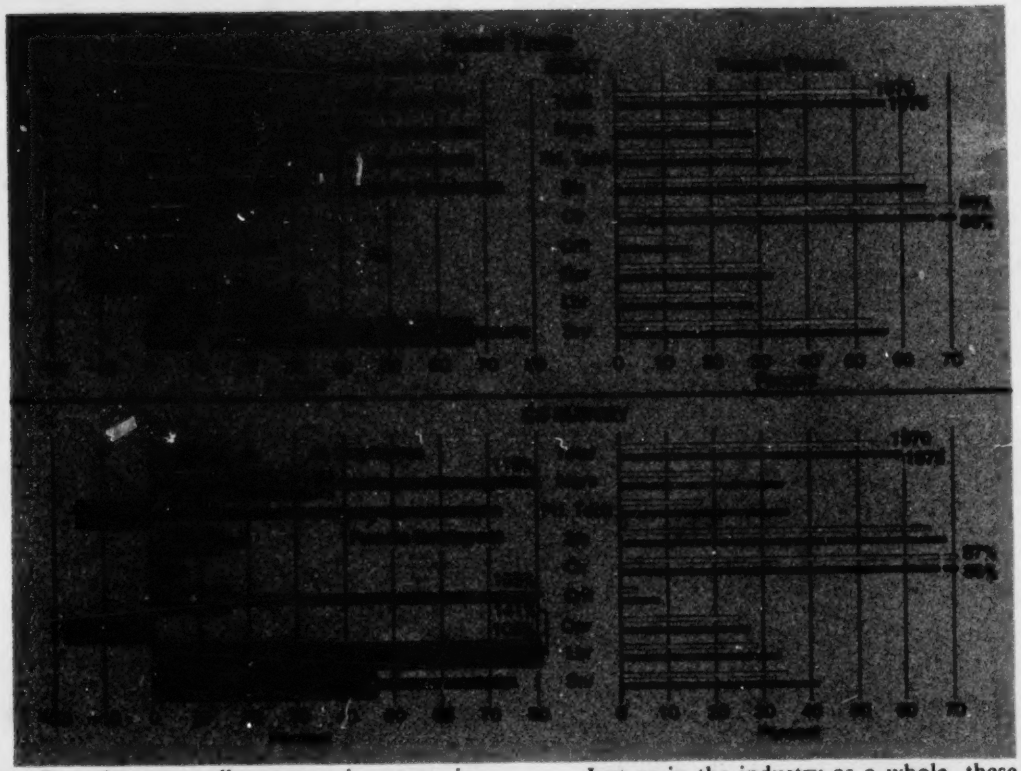
Among clerical employees, a 12 percent gain in female employment yielded a three-point increase in female representation, bringing the figure to 86 percent. Only in the service worker category was the increase in male employment sufficient to balance the increase of 14 percent in female employment, leaving the proportion of women employed in this category unchanged at 64 percent.

1970-1975 Employment Changes in Major Retailing Companies

In the companies with over 100 employees, who reported to the EEOC, it should be possible to look further back and to consider 1970 to 1975 changes in employment patterns. But because retailing organizations tend to be smaller, local operations with less corporate staff, it is possible that some of the companies that should have been reporting to the EEOC in 1970 still did not realize they should do so; accordingly, a little extra caution is warranted in evaluating the apparent 1970-1975 changes in employment.

Consistent with the pattern for the industry as a whole, the somewhat larger retailing companies show an increase in the overall representation of women in the work force—from 54 percent in 1970 to 56 percent of a considerably larger total work force in 1975.

All three of the stereotyped occupational categories for women became even more female—by 1975, 65 percent of all sales workers, 88 percent of all clerical workers, and 57 percent of all service workers were women.



But the unusually strong increases in female employment were not limited to those three categories. In particular, there was a substantial increase in the number of female managers and administrators. That whole occupational category grew somewhat in size—from 11 percent of the 1970 work force to 12 percent of the much larger (+29 percent) work force reported in 1975. On top of that, the representation of women went from 24 percent of the managerial category in 1970 to 28 percent of the noticeably larger managerial category in 1975.

Just as in the industry as a whole, these somewhat larger companies consistently show larger increases in female employment than in total employment in each of the occupational categories. But now there is a new twist to this story. In 1970, compared with the all-industry figures, the companies reporting to the EEOC were already reporting a larger proportion of women in every occupational category except service workers. In 1975, the same thing was true—the larger companies were still more heavily female and the gains they had made in female employment were often more than proportional to the industrywide gains. Unlike the larger companies in, say, manufacturing that were playing "catch-up ball," in 1970 the larger retailing companies were already leading the industry in female employment in all categories but one, and by 1975 they had built further upon that very strong base.

Less than ten very large retailing companies provided The Conference Board with matched 1970 and 1975 employment data, but these organizations account for over half a million workers, so even though the data are not likely to be typical of all large retailing organizations, the figures are important in their own right.

Between 1970 and 1975, the representation of women in these companies increased from 57 percent of the work force to 59 percent of a work force that was itself 17 percent larger. Note that, unlike the situation reported in many other industries, the proportions of women reported by these particular very large retailing companies are higher than those in the companies reporting to the EEOC and, of course, still higher than the all-industry figures. (This could, however, simply be a matter of happenstance.) Consistent with the data regarding these other sizes of retailing companies, the CB Survey retailers increased the representation of women in all occupational categories, this time even including the service workers.

For two of the three stereotyped occupations for women in retailing, these very large companies continue to have a higher proportion of women than the other retailers. By 1975, 68 percent of their sales workers and

89 percent of their many clerical employees were women. However, only 42 percent of their service workers are female, a substantially lower figure than for all companies reporting to the EEOC, quite probably due to much smaller numbers of food-service personnel.

But perhaps even more interesting are the changes they have wrought in other occupational categories. During a time when their total employment in the officials and managers category increased by 38 percent, these very large retailers increased their employment of female managers by 116 percent. And this meant the proportion of female managers increased from 22 percent in 1970 to 34 percent in 1975. Similar substantial increases occurred in some of the less well populated occupations—an increase of 166 percent in the number of female craft workers swelled their proportion of craft employment from 3 percent in 1970 to 8 percent in 1975; an increase of 72 percent in the number of female professionals and technicians brought them much closer to labor force parity of the work force in these jobs by 1975; and an increase of 141 percent in female laborers improved their representation to 34 percent in 1975. Something special has clearly been happening to women in these large retailing organizations. The companies certainly were not "coming from behind" in terms of their employment of women in 1970, yet by 1975 they had made significant progress—seemingly more than others—in improving both the diversity and the quality of job opportunities they provided to women.

Wholesale Trade, 1970 to 1975

In comparison to retailing, wholesale trade is a much smaller industry. Nonetheless, it employs over 3 million persons. It has clearly been predominantly a man's world. In 1970, only 23 percent of the wholesaling work force was female, and 67 percent of these women held clerical jobs. The others worked primarily as semiskilled operatives (13 percent) or as sales workers (6 percent). The remaining few were sprinkled across all the other occupational categories.

Only about one-third of all wholesaling employees worked for companies that reported to the EEOC. Their 1970 employment patterns for women were quite similar to those cited above, but they had even fewer women working as officials and managers, professionals and technicians, and many more working as laborers.

Between 1972 and 1975 total employment in the wholesaling industry increased by 9 percent while the employment of women increased by 14 percent. Although the numbers involved are small, there was a 49 percent increase in the number of female managers, bringing their 1975 share of these jobs up to 9 percent. And there was a 39 percent increase in the number of women in sales, so by 1975 the women held 6 percent of these jobs. But, due to a decline in the number of male clerical workers while the number of females increased slightly, the proportion of women in the clerical category also rose to 75 percent. For similar reasons the proportion of female operatives increased to 36 percent.

In wholesaling companies reporting to the EEOC, by 1975 the number of women in sales had increased by 85 percent so the women's share of the sales jobs went up to 10 percent. Despite a 68 percent increase in the number of women, only 6 percent of the officials and managers were females. Between 1970 and 1975 there was also a noticeable decline in the total number of blue-collar and service employees working for these larger wholesalers, and there was an even larger decline in the number of women in these categories.

Too few very large wholesaling companies submitted employment data in the CB Survey to permit any separate analysis for such firms.

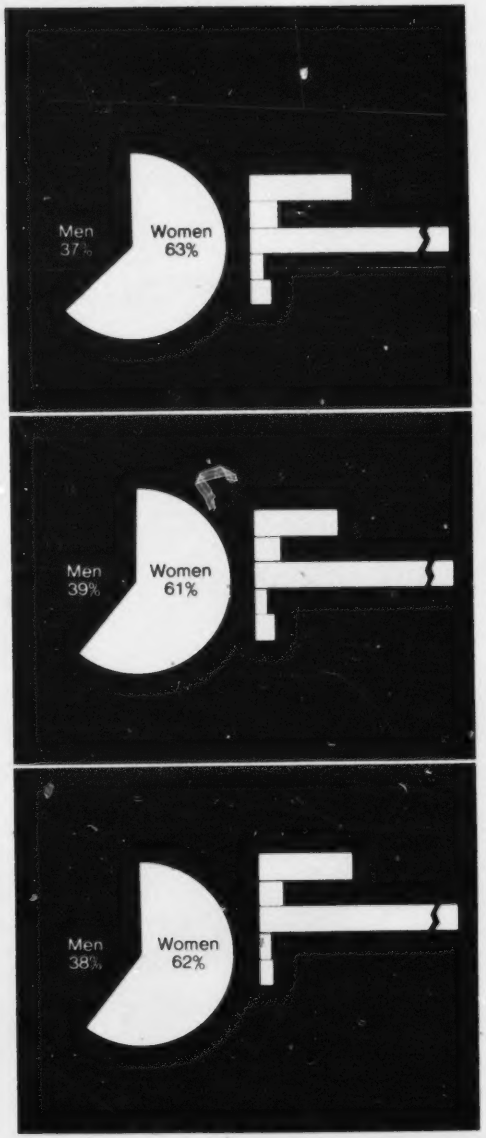
Finance, Insurance and Real Estate

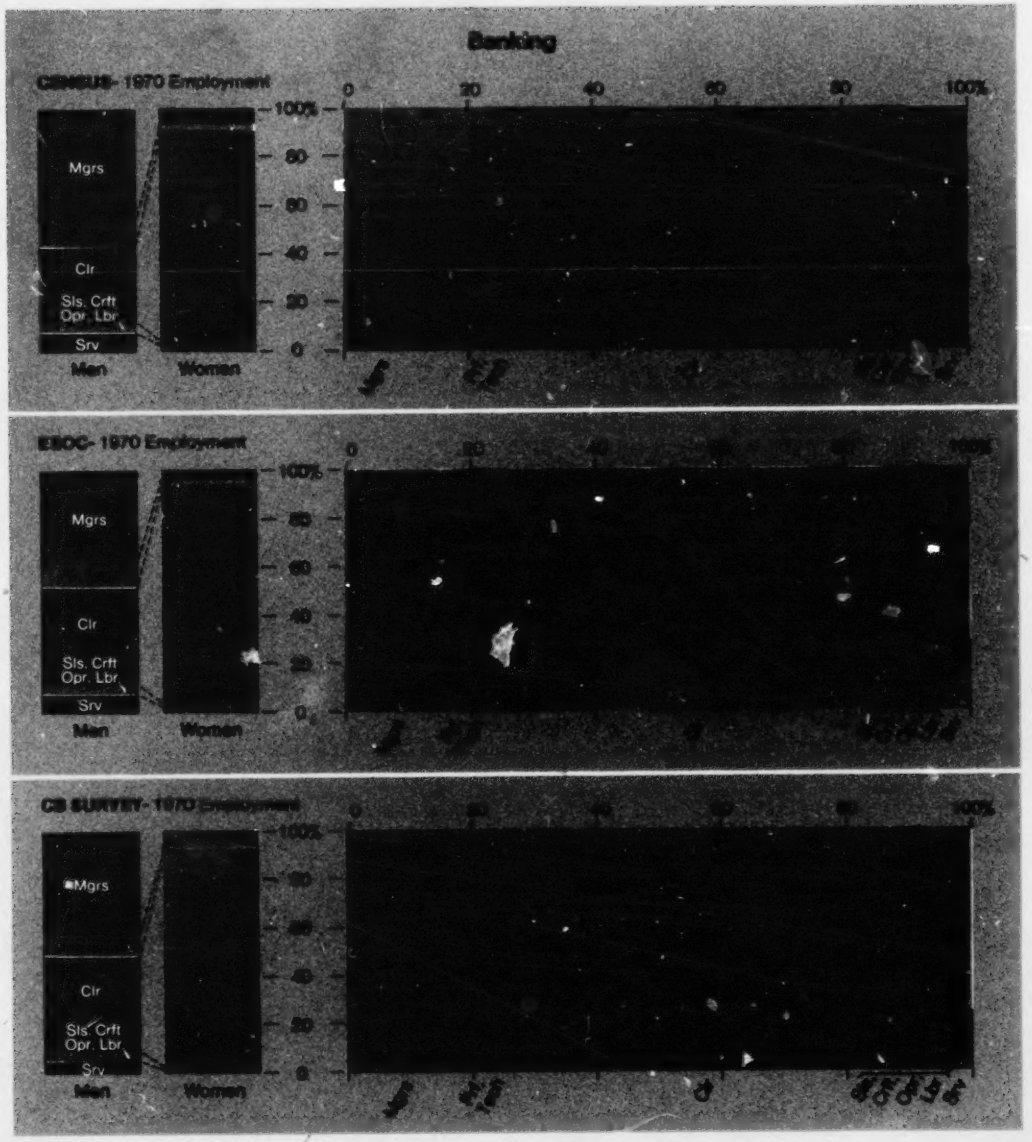
THIS BROAD CENSUS CATEGORY includes the banking and insurance industries, which are regarded as being in the corporate sector, but it also includes other kinds of financial enterprises and real estate, which are excluded because most of the firms have very few employees. To the extent possible, the following discussion is limited to the employment patterns found in banking and insurance. Whenever employment data for the remainder of the Census category cannot appropriately be excluded that fact is noted.

Banking in 1970

In 1970, the banking industry employed just over one million workers, and these represented only slightly more than one percent of the U.S. work force. In terms of the numbers of employees, most individual banks are relatively small, local—or at most regional—operations. In 1970, only 62 percent of the industry's work force was employed in the banks with 50-100 or more employees that reported to the EEOC. Even the ten very large banking firms that submitted both 1970 and 1975 employment data for the CB Survey did not employ huge numbers of people. Their average employment in 1970 was only about 10,000; by 1975, this number had increased to about 12,000.

Banks are essentially providers of white-collar office employment. They have vast numbers of clerical workers—67 percent of their total work force in 1970. They also have a goodly representation of managers and administrators (21 percent of all their employees in 1970) and quite a few professional and technical workers (6 percent of


Men
37%
Women
63%
Men
39%
Women
61%
Men
38%
Women
62%


Banking
CENSUS- 1970 Employment
EEOC- 1970 Employment
CB SURVEY- 1970 Employment
Mgrs
Clr
Sls, Crft
Opr, Lbr
Srv
Men
Women
0
20
40
60
80
100%

61

the 1970 work force). Service occupations—primarily guards and maintenance workers—are also relatively important (4 percent of the 1970 work force), but there are very few blue-collar workers or sales workers in the banking industry. In 1970, this distribution of occupations did not seem to vary much based on organization size.

After apparel manufacturing, banking ranks at the very top of the list of female-intensive industries. In 1970, 63 percent of all bank employees were women, a figure that apparently varied only a percentage point or two in relation to company size. By 1975, with 67 percent of the employees female, the banking industry had become even more female intensive.

As might be expected, regardless of organization size, women have a virtual monopoly on employment in all the clerical occupations in banking, whether these be in secretarial, bookkeeping or bank teller jobs. Accordingly, in 1970, 88 to 90 percent of all the women in banking were clerical workers. The remaining 10 to 12 percent of the women were scattered among the other occupations.

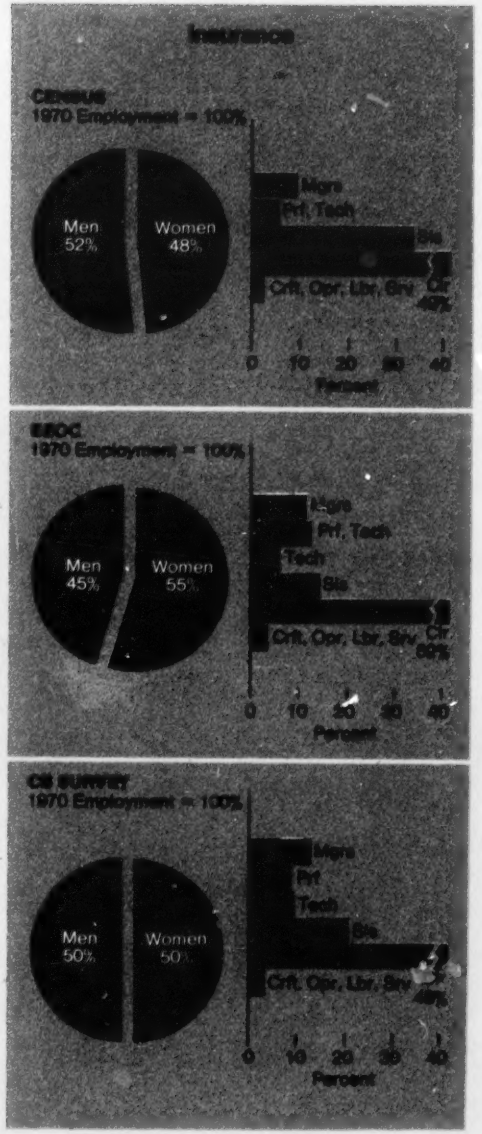
The histograms showing the male-female employment mix by occupation in banking in 1970 graphically summarize the EEO dilemma this industry has faced. Women clearly predominated in the total employment mix, but they certainly were not "dominant" in the industry, for they held a comparatively small share of both the managerial and professional roles. Essentially the same story held true regardless of organization size, although the available data suggest that in 1970 women may have held an even smaller share of the managerial and the professional jobs in medium-sized banks than they did in either the small or the very large banks.

Nonetheless, the representation of women at the higher organization levels throughout the banking industry in 1970 was certainly much greater than it was, say, in most manufacturing industries (see pages 36-40). It was more like the representation found in some of the other female-intensive, service-providing industries like retail trade (see pages 54-56), communications (see pages 46-47) and insurance (see pages below). (See pages 70-74 for a further discussion of this point.)

Insurance in 1970

In 1970, 1.3 million persons, or about 2 percent of the working population, were employed by insurance companies of various kinds. Many of those employed in this industry apparently work for relatively small, local insurance agencies. In 1970, only 59 percent of the industry's total work force was employed in the larger agencies and the insurance underwriting companies with 50-100 or more employees that reported to the EEOC. The 16 very large insurance companies that provided us with matched 1970 and 1975 employment data averaged about 8,900 employees in 1970. By 1975, their average employment had increased to about 9,700.

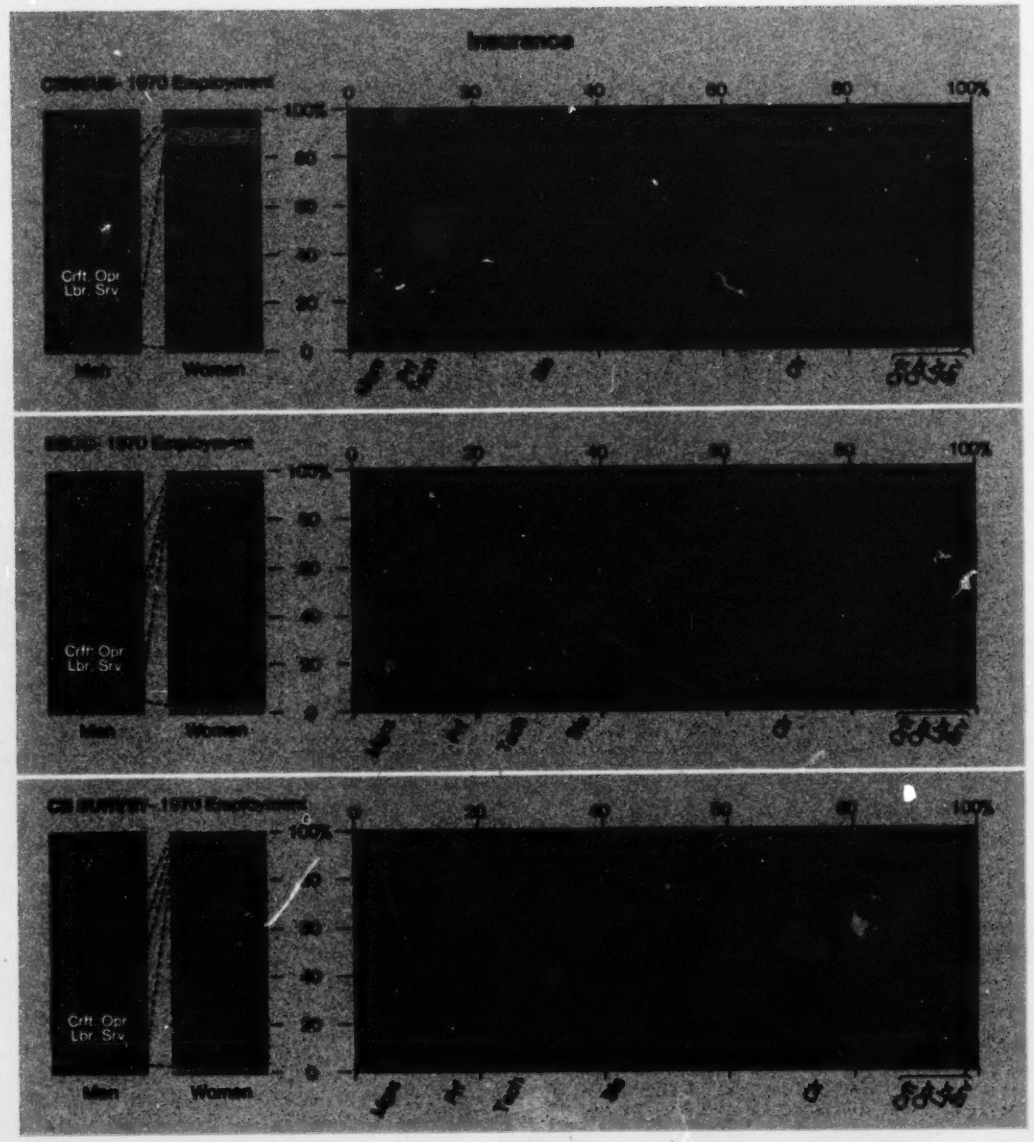
Like banking, insurance is almost entirely a white-collar employment field. In 1970, clerical employees made up just under half of the total work force and sales workers ac-



counted for another one-third. The remainder of the employees were almost all in the managerial (9 percent) and professional-technical (6 percent) categories. There were virtually no blue-collar or service workers (2 percent in combined total). In the larger companies, there were more professional and technical workers (18 percent combined) and fewer sales workers (only 14 percent as against the 33 percent for the whole industry). There were also 18 percent professional and technical workers in the very large companies, but there were more sales workers (21 percent), perhaps reflecting the fact that some of the very large companies employ their own sales representatives while others sell through independent agents. The very large companies also had a somewhat lower proportion of clerical workers (46 percent).

Given the large number of clerical employees in the insurance industry, it is not surprising to find that in 1970 just about half of all the employees were women. The proportion varied between 48 percent in the industry as a whole and 55 percent in the larger companies reporting to the EEOC; the very large CB Survey companies were in the middle of the range (50 percent).

Regardless of company size, in 1970 the vast majority (83 to 86 percent) of all female employees in insurance were clerical workers. In the industry as a whole 8 percent of the women were also in sales, but in the somewhat larger and the very large companies women sales workers were virtually nonexistent (1 percent or less of the female work force). There the women were much more likely to be found in either professional



or technical roles (making up 8 to 11 percent of all female employees). But very few women worked in that other important white-collar category, officials and managers (2 to 3 percent). And, of course, there were almost no jobs for either women or men outside the white-collar categories.

The occupational segregation of the women in the clerical job category is vividly shown in all three of the 1970 histograms showing the male-female mix. Women accounted for from 81 percent to 92 percent of the huge numbers of clerical workers. They were also conspicuous by their absence, especially in the very large companies, in both the managerial and the sales categories. Even in the professional and technical categories they apparently are better represented in the lower level—the technical jobs.

Subsequent Changes in Employment Profiles

Because the total numbers involved are comparatively small, the 1972 and 1975 Current Population Survey data for the entire Census category are the best available figures to show the industrywide changes in male-female employment patterns.[1] They indicate an overall increase of 8 percent in employment during these three years, comprised of increases of about 15 percent in the numbers of professional-technical and sales workers, of about 99 percent in the number of managers, of about 5 percent in clerical employees, and of about 3 percent in all other categories.

[1]These figures also include real estate employment.

The percentage changes in the employment of women from 1972 to 1975 are significantly larger than those in total employment in all the major employment categories. Increases of 48 percent in the number of female professional-technical employees, of 30 to 33 percent in the women in the managerial and sales categories, and of 6 percent in the women clerical workers combined to yield an overall increase of 11 percent in female employment—despite a slight drop in the number of women in the other, much less important, occupational categories.

As a result of these changes, the proportion of women employed in the industry increased by only one percentage point from 1972 to 1975, but their representation in certain occupational categories increased considerably more. The proportion of managers who were women went from 23 percent in 1972 to 27 percent in 1975. Female sales workers had been only 21 percent of the total in 1972; they accounted for 25 percent by 1975.[2] And the representation of women among professional-technical workers increased from 24 percent in 1972 to 31 percent in 1975. On the other hand, the proportion of women clerical workers increased by only one percentage point to 84 percent. And in the other, much less well populated, occupational categories the women seem to have lost some ground, dropping about one percentage point in their representation to 18 percent.

1970-1975 Employment Changes in Major Companies

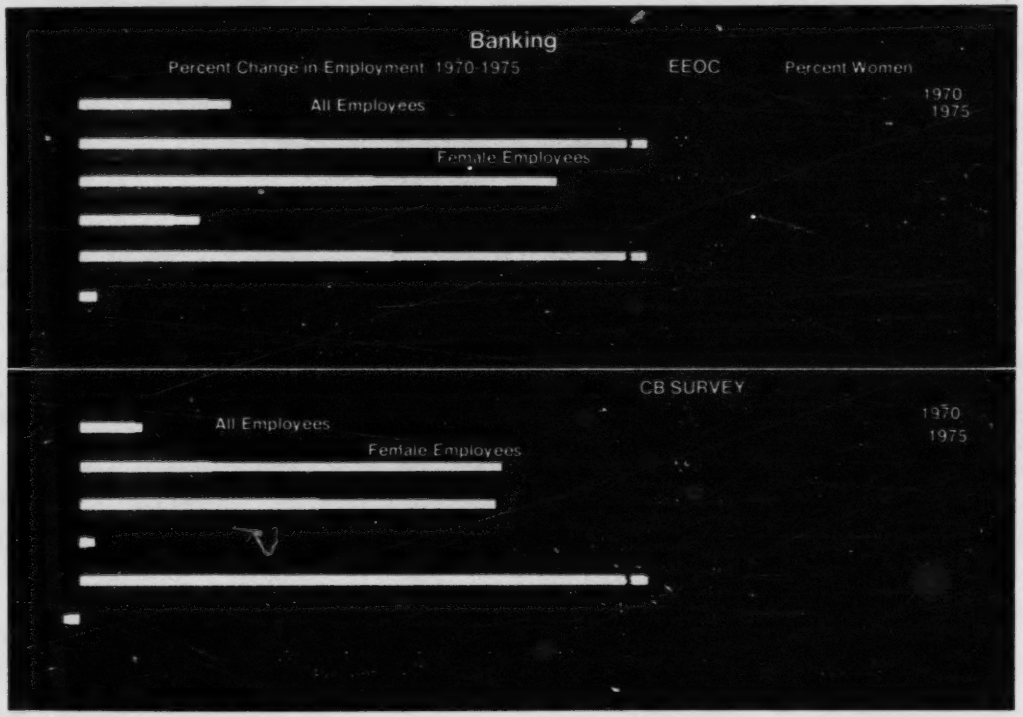
Changes in Banking. The 1970 to 1975 changes in the employment mix in banks reporting to the EEOC and in those submitting matched data in the CB Survey are much more dramatic. These banks have ex-

[2]It is likely that some of the increased female representation among managers and sales workers occurred in the real estate industry where, in 1970, women were already substantially better represented in these jobs than in banking and insurance.

perienced rapid growth in the number of officials and managers and also of professonal-technical employees; furthermore, women have achieved striking improvement in their representation in these much-enlarged occupational categories.

In the banks reporting to the EEOC, the overall growth in employment in the managerial category was 81 percent, with women experiencing a 242 percent increase. As a result, female representation in the managerial category soared from 13 percent in 1970 to 25 percent in 1975. Similarly, the overall growth in professional-technical employment in these banks during this five-year period was 105 percent but the number of women increased by 171 percent, so their representation among professional-technical employees moved up from 23 percent in 1970 to 31 percent in 1975.

There were parallel, but slightly less dramatic, changes among the CB Survey banks. Total employment in the managerial category increased by 47 percent from 1970 to 1975, but the number of women in this category increased by 150 percent. Accordingly, their representation in the managerial ranks rose from 17 percent in 1970 to 30 percent in 1975. And among professionals and technicians, the overall 1970-1975 growth in employment was just over 85 percent, but the number of women professionals grew by 149 percent. The female representation in this category went from 24 percent in 1970 to 32 percent in 1975.



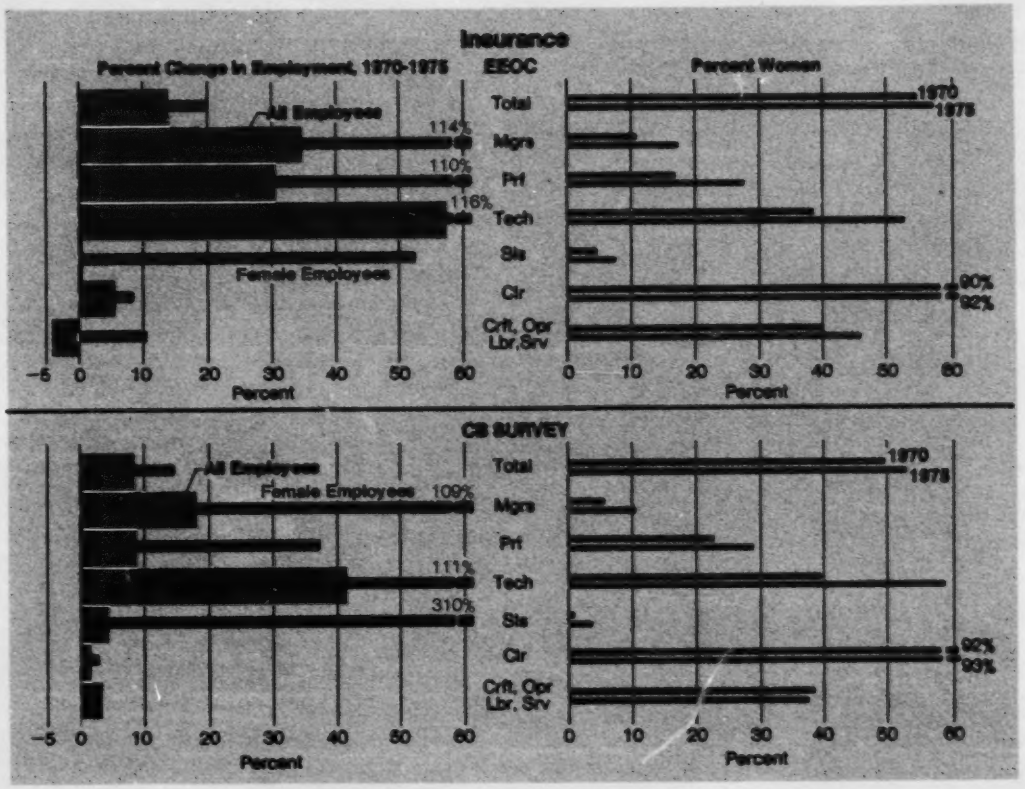
Those who are knowledgeable about developments in the banking industry relate both the sharp increase in the total number of managerial and professional employees and the even sharper increase in the number of women employed in these categories to the very rapid expansion of "personal banking"—providing banking services to individuals as distinct from businesses or other kinds of organizations. They point out that in states like New York and California that permit branch banking, the growth of personal banking has been accompanied by a proliferation of small branches. Thus, while they agree that women have been making real progress in improving their organizational status in banking, they believe it is still safe to say that the women are not about to assume control of this female-intensive industry.

The other observable change in the employment mix of banks reporting to the EEOC and also of those participating in the CB Survey is probably more apparent than real. It seems possible that some of the banks may have been classifying some operators of certain kinds of office machines, for example, key punch operators, or those photocopying documents, as semiskilled opera-

tives rather than as clerical workers. The EEOC's category definitions indicate that "operative" is really a blue-collar, factory worker category, so one would expect there would be virtually none employed in banks.

Changes in Insurance. Although somewhat less dramatic than those in banking, the 1970-1975 changes in employment in major insurance companies were sizable and clearly benefited women. In the insurance companies reporting to the EEOC, total employment increased by 14 percent, while female employment increased by 20 percent. In both cases, the percentage increases were largest in the technical, professional and managerial categories, but those for women ranged from 110 to 116 percent, while the increases in total employment only ranged from 31 to 57 percent. The net result was that the representation of women in these categories increased substantially. The proportion of women among managers increased from 11 percent in 1970 to 17 percent in 1975. Among professionals, the increase was from 17 percent female in 1970 to 27 percent female in 1975. And among technicians it was from 38 percent in 1970 and 53 percent in 1975.

Even in the major occupational categories that were not growing so rapidly, the women did relatively well. The sales category, for example, had no overall growth, but there was a 52 percent increase in the number of women, so by 1975 they accounted for 7 percent of all insurance sales workers, up from 5 percent. At the other end of the spectrum, their representation in clerical jobs went from 90 percent in 1970 to 92 percent in 1975.



The matched 1970 and 1975 employment data submitted by very large insurance companies in the CB Survey also show many changes that are favorable to women. Overall employment increased by only 9 percent but female employment increased by 15 percent. Again, most of the largest increases were in the technical, managerial and professional categories, and the increase in women employees was anywhere from two to five times as large as the increase in total employees. As a result, the proportion of female technicians rose from 39 percent in 1970 to 59 percent in 1975; the proportion of female professionals increased from 23 percent to 29 percent; and the proportion of female managers went from 6 percent to 10 percent by 1975—these last figures being noticeably lower than those for all the companies reporting to the EEOC.

A striking change occurred in the sales worker category. Even though there was only a 4 percent increase in total sales employment, the number of women increased by 310 percent! This probably represented a real psychological breakthrough, for in 1970 women had been only 1 percent of the sales workers in these big companies; by 1975 the women had enlarged their beachhead in this predominantly male occupational territory to 4 percent of the sales force.

At the same time, the clerical jobs had become even more of a female ghetto. By 1975, 93 percent of all the clerical workers were female. Moreover, unless a significant proportion of the female technical workers are able to move up to professional, managerial or sales jobs, a newly "feminized" techician category is almost certainly developing.

Mining and Construction

THE EMPLOYMENT PATTERNS in the two remaining industry categories in the corporate sector deserve brief mention. The mining and construction industries employed about 7 percent of the total U.S. work force in 1970, but most of this employment was with relatively small, local companies. Except for the overall perspective provided by Census and CPS data, there is very little reliable information available about the male-female employment patterns in these two industries.

Mining: In 1970, only 8 percent of all the employees in this industry were women, and almost three-quarters of these were clerical employees. (Yet only 61 percent of all the clerical workers in mining were women.) The only other occupational category in which women held more than 10 percent of the jobs was as service workers, where their share was about 11 percent.

CPS data indicate that between 1972 and 1975 there was a 23 percent increase in total employment in mining. The increase in female employment was 71 percent, bringing their share of total employment up to 10 percent. Limited progress was made in improving the representation of women in managerial and professional categories, but there was such an increase in the number of female clerical workers that their share of this category shot up from 62 percent in 1972 to 76 percent in 1975. And 81 percent of all the women were now clerical employees.

Construction: This was the most male-dominated of all industries in 1970; only 6 percent of the total work force was female. Here, too, the vast majority (70 percent) of the women worked as clerical employees and the only other occupational category in which they held more than 10 percent of the jobs was as service workers.

According to CPS data, there was a drop of about 4 percent in total construction employment between 1972 and 1975, but the employment of women increased by about 7 percent. Given the very severe recession in the construction industry, it is especially surprising that the women apparently were able to improve their status in the managerial ranks; they seem to have moved up slightly to 3 percent of the jobs. (In sales, the relative growth appeared to be even greater, but the very small numbers involved cast doubt on their reliability.) Women did, however, noticeably lose ground in technical and professional roles; they had been 6 percent of this work force in 1972, but they were only 4 percent of the much smaller 1975 work force. Various "hometown plans" have been established to increase the representation of minorities in the construction trades, but by 1975 none of these plans included goals and timetables for women. The number of women employed in these skilled crafts continues to be so small that it is not possible to be certain how it is changing.

2. Employment Patterns in Male-Intensive versus Female-Intensive Industries

AS PRECEDING SECTIONS HAVE INDICATED, some industries have very few women among their employees, while in others the women make up the majority of the work force. Thus, although the overall representation of women in the corporate sector was 31 percent in 1970 (compared with 38 percent in the total U.S. work force), women made up only 6 percent of all those employed in the construction industry and, at the other extreme, they constituted 78 percent of the work force in the apparel and fabricated textile industry.

The accompanying table shows the proportion of women in the work force in various specific industries within the corporate sector in 1970. The shading divides these industries into two categories: (1) "male-intensive industries"—those in which 70 percent or more of the employees were men; and (2) "female-intensive industries"— those in which 31 percent or more of the employees were women. Generally speaking, the mining, construction and durable goods manufacturing industries tend to be male intensive while nondurable goods manufacturing and the service industries tend to be female intensive, but there are some significant exceptions. For example, even though the electrical machinery and equipment industry and the professional and photo equipment industry do make durable goods, they are female intensive. By the same token, the male-intensive industry list does include the following nondurable goods and service industries: food products, chemicals, paper products, petroleum and coal products, wholesale trade, transporta-

THE PROPORTION OF WOMEN BY INDUSTRY WITHIN THE CORPORATE SECTOR, 1970

Ranked by degree of concentration

Industry Group	*Number Employed (000)* Women	Men	*Percent* Women	
Total, All Industries	28,930	47,624	37.8%	
Total, Corporate Sector	15,060	33,627	30.9	
Construction	267	4,305	5.8	
Mining	50	580	8.0	
Primary Metals	111	1,101	9.1	
Lumber & Wood, exc. Furniture	56	497	10.1	
Electric and Gas Utilities & Sanitary Services	129	867	13.0	
Transportation Equipment	285	1,854	13.3	
Transportation	405	2,424	14.3	**Male-Intensive Industries**
Petroleum & Coal Products	30	181	14.3	
Machinery, exc. Electrical	330	1,661	16.6	
Fabricated Metals	221	962	18.7	
Stone, Clay, Glass Products	112	476	19.0	
Paper & Allied Products	144	506	22.1	
Chemicals & Allied Products	222	766	22.5	
Wholesale Trade	736	2,397	23.5	
Furniture & Fixtures	110	315	25.9	
Food & Kindred Products	362	1,028	26.0	
Ordnance, Other Durables, Misc. Mfg.	405	968	29.5	
Rubber & Misc. Plastic Products	162	362	30.9	**Average for Corporate Sector**
Printing, Publishing, Allied Industries	412	779	34.6	
Professional, Photo Equip., Watches	137	235	36.8	
Electrical Mach., Equip., Supplies	727	1,178	38.2	
Tobacco Manufactures	27	42	39.3	
Finance, exc. Banking	248	307	44.7	**Female-Intensive Industries**
Retail Trade	5,596	6,642	45.7	
Textile Mill Products	445	520	46.1	
Insurance	843	888	48.3	
Communications	521	563	48.5	
Leather & Leather Products	160	123	56.6	
Banking	837	370	69.3	
Apparel, Fabricated Textiles	946	273	77.6	

Source: 1970 Census of Population

tion and electric and gas utilities. To the extent that the available data permit, this section examines the male-female employment and occupational patterns in these two categories of industries in 1970 and then considers the changes in these patterns up to 1975. In addition to confirming the serious occupational segregation of women, several other important differences in the utilization of women in the work force emerge. There are also clues regarding some of the circumstances in which employers have found it possible to improve the job opportunities provided to women relatively quickly.

Comparative Employment Patterns in 1970

In 1970, the work force in the male-intensive industries averaged 85 percent male and 15 percent female. These industries employed six out of every ten men who worked in the corporate sector. In that same year, the work force in the female-intensive industries averaged 47 percent female and 53 percent male. Seven out of every ten women employed in the corporate sector worked in some female-intensive industry.

Although the male-intensive industries included more blue-collar factory jobs and the female-intensive industries included more clerical, sales and service jobs, both kinds of industries offered a wide range of occupations, especially to male employees. The women, however, tended to be employed in much more stereotyped roles. In the male-intensive industries over half the women were clerical workers and an additional 31 percent were semiskilled operatives. In the female-intensive industries these same two relatively low-paying, low-status occupational categories also accounted for the majority of the women employed (58 percent) but there were also large numbers of women working on other low-paying, low-status jobs in sales—primarily as retail clerks, and in service work—especially in jobs relating to food service.

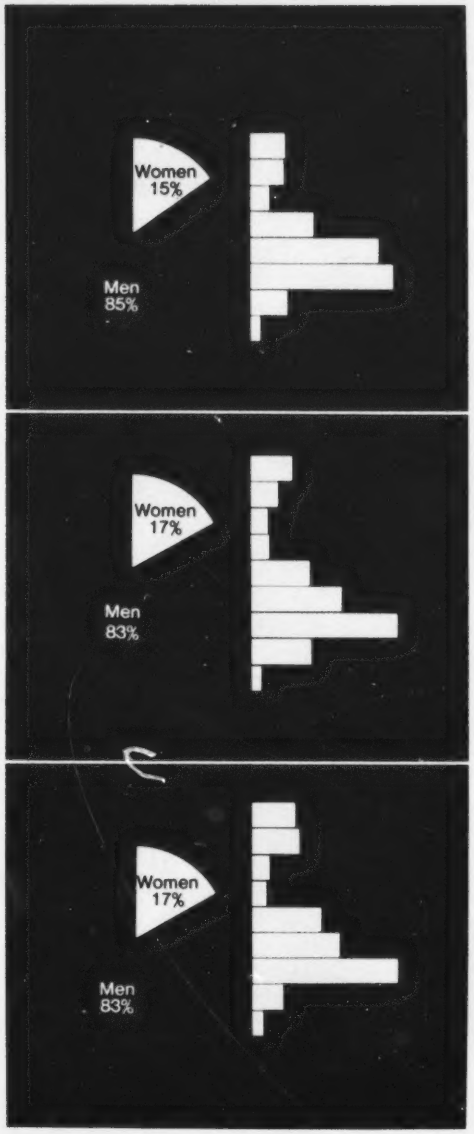
In 1970, in both kinds of industries the men dominated the clearly upscale occupational categories. Regardless of how many women were employed, the men were much more likely to be the managers and administrators, the professionals and technicians, or the skilled craft employees. Yet, the women held a significantly larger proportion of the upscale jobs in the female-intensive industries than they did in the male-intensive ones. The 1970 Census data show the following proportions of women in these clearly upscale occupational categories:

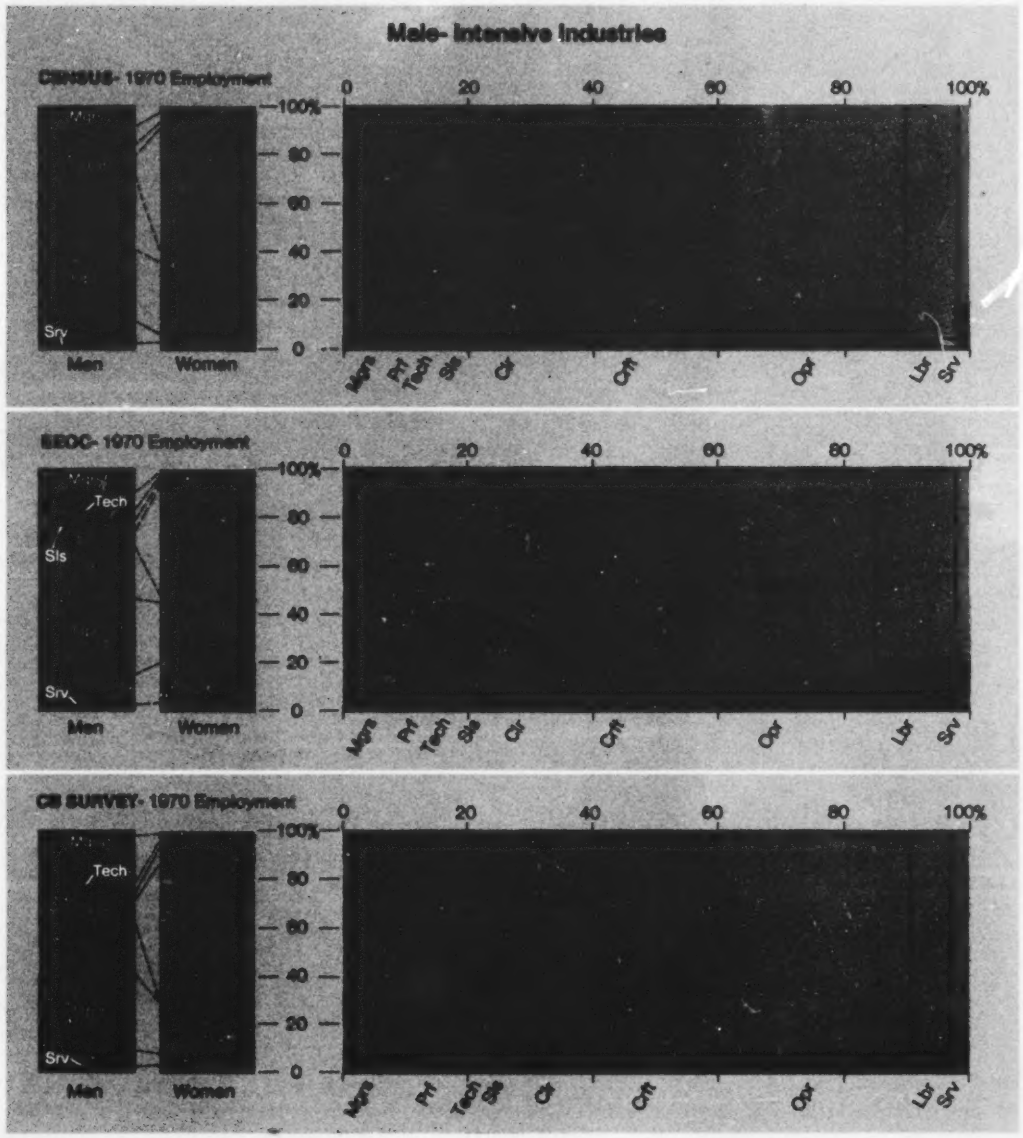
	Female-Intensive Industries	*Male-Intensive Industries*
Managers and administrators	19%	5%
Professionals and technicians	21	8
Craft workers	11	2

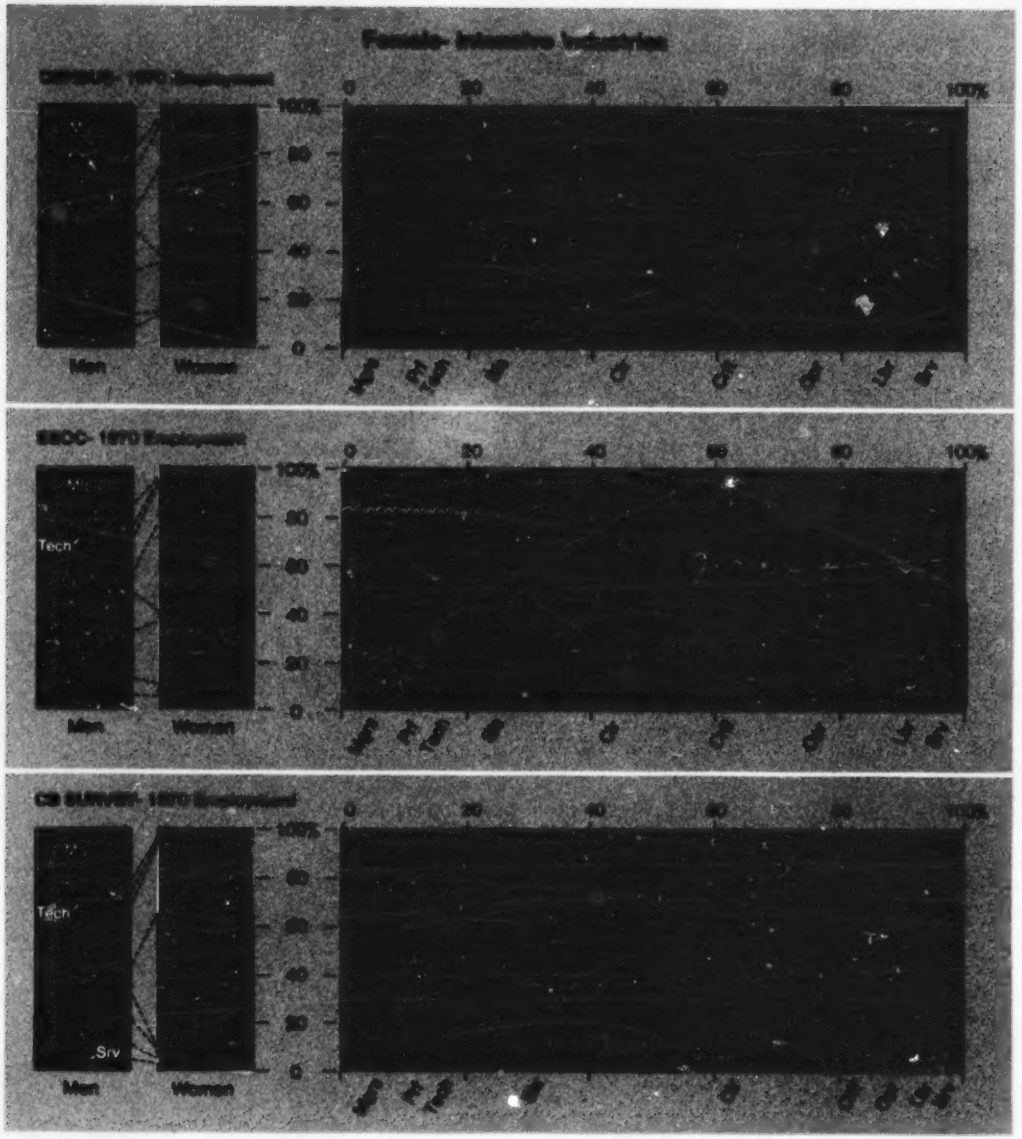
Sales workers are a special case; this is clearly an upscale occupation only in the male-intensive industries, and there women accounted for only 7 percent of the sales work force. However, when retail trade is excluded from the count of sales workers in the female-intensive industries, women still have a higher proportion of the remaining higher status sales jobs (13 percent) than in the male-intensive industries.

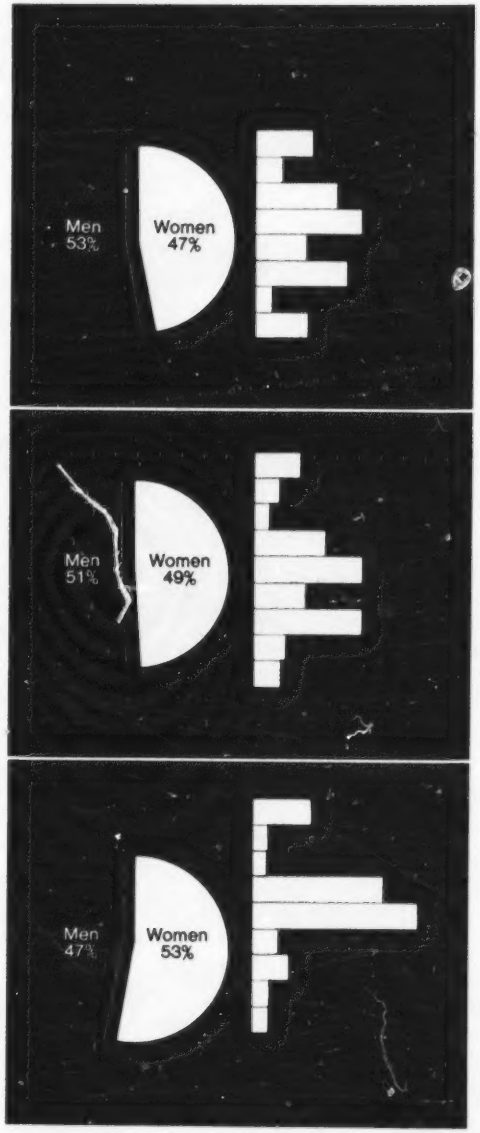
Undoubtedly a major part of these differences can be explained by the fact that in 1970 few women had the technical knowledge and skills required for many of the upscale jobs in the male-intensive industries. It is also true that: (1) Women were more likely to be used as supervisors or managers of other women than of men; and (2) Some of the jobs requiring technical knowledge or craft skills in the female-intensive industries could really be viewed as extensions of certain basic homemaking skills, such as sewing.

But some observers also point out that companies that had more experience with women as employees might generally have been: (1) more likely to think of hiring or promoting a woman; (2) less likely to assume that all women are very much alike; and/or (3) more likely to be aware that qualified women might be available at lower salaries than comparably qualified men. They suggest that these differences in perception would make it more likely that an employer with more women on the payroll would be able to identify women who had the qualifications needed for a broader range of jobs and who also had the potential to fill considerably more responsible positions. In support of their theory they not only point to the differences in the upscale occupational employment figures cited above, but also to the fact that even in the clerical occupations a much higher proportion of women were


Women
15%
Men
85%
Women
17%
Men
83%
Women
17%
Men
83%


Male- Intensive Industries
CENSUS- 1970 Employment
EEOC- 1970 Employment
CB SURVEY- 1970 Employment
Men
Women
Srv
Tech
Sls
0
20
40
60
80
100%
Mgrs
Prf
Tech
Sls
Clr
Craft
Oper
Lbr
Srv


Men
Women
Tech
Srv
0
20
40
60
80
100%


Men
53%
Women
47%
Men
51%
Women
49%
Men
47%
Women
53%

employed in the female-intensive industries (80 percent) than in the male-intensive industries (59 percent). Virtually all of the employment data we have gathered—regardless of company size and regardless of whether the data are for 1970 or for 1975—show this same pattern. There is always a larger proportion of women in each broad occupational category in the female-intensive industries than there is in the comparable category in the male-intensive industries.

Also, consistent with findings discussed earlier (see pages 36-67), in both the male-intensive and the female-intensive industries the histograms suggest that in 1970 the smaller companies must have had larger proportions of women in most upscale occupational categories, especially those that included the managers, the professional-technical employees, and the craft workers. For example, in 1970 in the male-intensive industries the proportion of women in management was 5 percent for organizations of all sizes, but the figure apparently was only about 2 percent in the companies with 50-100 or more employees and also in those very large companies that particated in the CB Survey. Similarly, in the female-intensive industries, the 1970 data covering companies of all sizes show that 19 percent of the managers were female, but in both sets of data for larger organizations the figure appears to be about 16 to 17 percent.

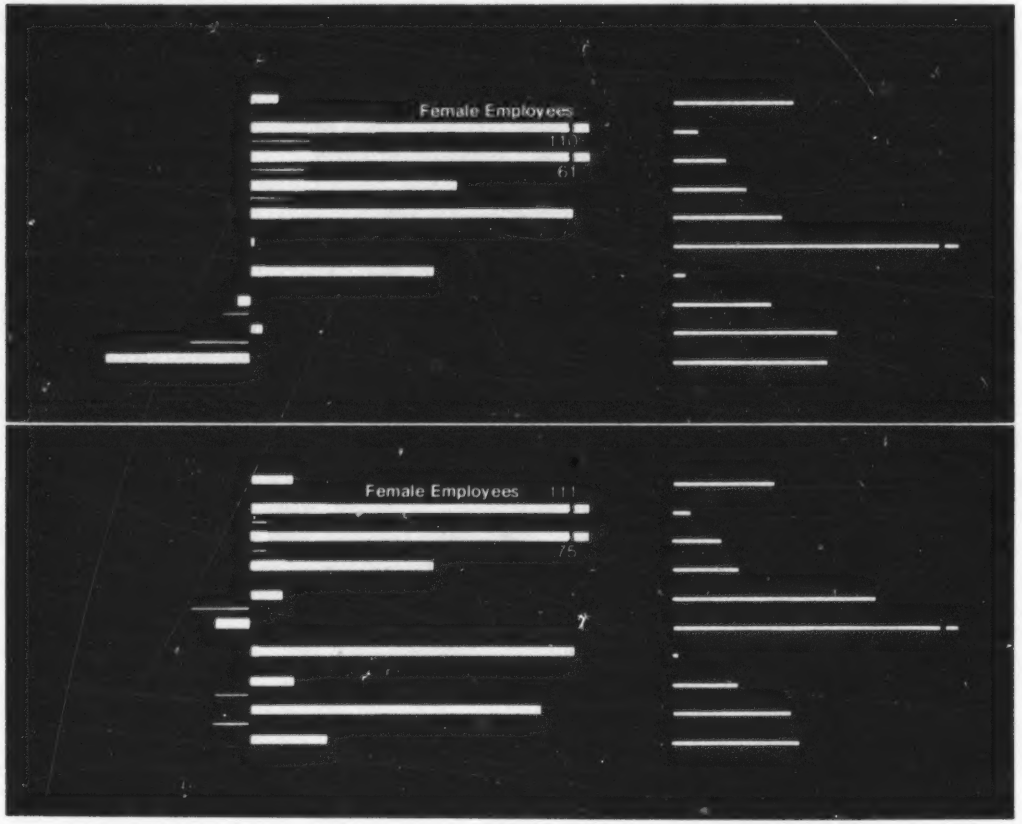
Subsequent Changes in Employment Profiles

Because the data are not well matched, it is not possible to measure the numerical changes in occupational employment between 1970 and 1975 for the male-intensive and female-intensive industries using the Census-CPS statistics. However, some comparisons of the representation of women in these occupations and industries can be made between the two years. These figures generally confirm the findings described more fully below, when the situation in the larger companies is examined.

In both the male-intensive and the female-intensive industries the overall story is that women improved their relative strength most significantly in the white-collar occupations. But this change is apparently not as great for women in the male-intensive industries. There their gains were smaller in the managerial and professional-technical categories and their position actually deteriorated in sales jobs. On the other hand, while women seem to have done less well on the whole in blue-collar and service occupations, in these categories they generally did better in the male-intensive industries.

In Male-Intensive Industries. Among the companies with 50-100 or more employees who reported to the EEOC, there was no change in total employment in 1975 compared with 1970, and there was an increase of only 4 percent in the number of women employed. Similarly, in the 73 very large companies from male-intensive industries that provided data for the CB Survey, total employment decreased by 4 percent and the number of women employed increased by 6 percent. Nonetheless, many improvements in job opportunities for women occurred. In the officials and managers category, the numbers of women employed had increased by 110 to 111 percent by 1975; but the

numbers of women who had been employed as managers in 1970 were so small that these increases only changed the women's share of such jobs by a percentage point or two (there was also a slightly larger total managerial work force). Among professional employees, the EEOC data show a gain of 61 percent in the number of women—increasing their share of these jobs from 5 to 8 percent. A 75 percent increase in professional women in the CB Survey companies enabled them to catch up to this 8 percent figure in 1975. In the technician category, increases of 27 to 31 percent in the number of women resulted in their holding about 10 percent of these jobs in 1975. Among sales workers the patterns were more disparate: In the companies with 50-100 or more employees, a 48 percent increase in the number of women increased their share of the sales jobs from 11 to 16 percent; but, probably because the specific industry mix in the CB Survey companies was different, these companies showed only a 5 percent increase in the number of women in sales coupled with a 9 percent decrease in the total number of sales workers, bringing the proportion of women in selling up from 25 percent to 29 percent. In the other upscale job category, the craft workers, increases of 27 to 49 percent in the number of women were posted, but that still left the women's share of these jobs at only 1 to 2 percent.



What about the other, less attractive job categories? They all experienced declines in total employment of 4 to 17 percent—but in every case except one the change in female employment was either an increase or a smaller decrease, so the net effect on women's employment was favorable. In the clerical category, for example, female employment held steady in the companies with 50-100 or more employees and actually dropped 5 percent in the very large CB Survey companies, but in both situations there was a considerable drop in the total number of clerical jobs, so the proportion of women in this category moved up—from 62 percent to 68 percent in the EEOC data and from 52 percent to 58 percent in the CB Survey data. Similar kinds of complex changes led to the following shifts in the proportions of women in these job categories:

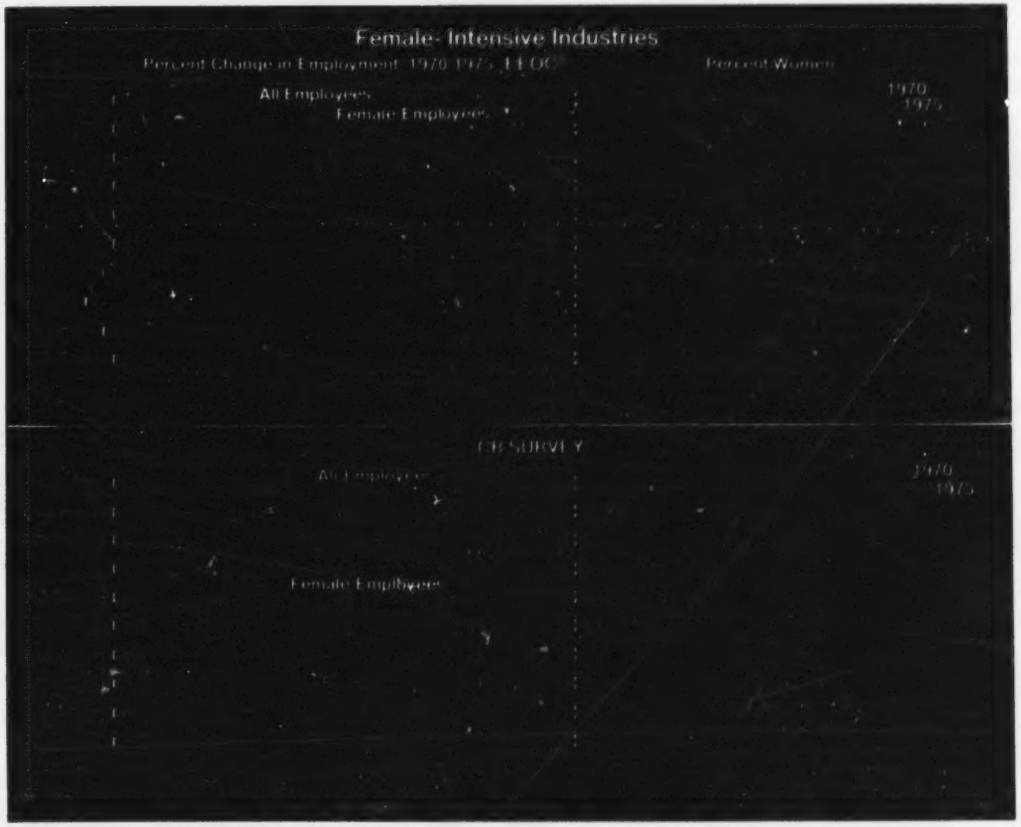
	EEOC Data		*CB Survey Data*	
	1970	*1975*	*1970*	*1975*
Operatives	14%	14%	9%	10%
Laborers	21	23	11	17
Service workers	24	22	14	18

Thus, the only category in the male-intensive industries in which women seem to have suffered even a slight loss of representation from 1970 to 1975 was among service workers in companies with 50-100 or more employees.

Once again, some cynics may say that the various changes that appear to have occurred in these male-intensive companies could have resulted primarily from reshuffling jobs among the EEO-1 form's occupational categories; this seems much too simplistic an analysis of what appears to be a very complex change process. Of course, even assuming that all the reported changes have been real, it still must be noted that the change process had not continued long enough by 1975 to produce any startling alterations in the overall configuration of female employment in these companies. Even in 1975, the only occupational category in which the representation of women was at or above parity with their labor force representation (about 40 percent) was the office-clerical category and the only other occupations in which they were even at about half of that representation were as laborers or service workers and, in the CB Survey companies, as sales workers.

In Female-Intensive Industries. In contrast to the overall employment picture in the male-intensive industries, between 1970 and 1975 there was an increase of 12 to 14 percent in total employment in the major companies in the female-intensive industries. Because they were not so hard hit by the recession, these companies probably had many more job openings between 1970 and 1975 for which they could consider women (see page 17). Over the five-year period the total number of women in their work forces increased by 17 to 20 percent, bringing the overall proportion of women up to 52 percent in the companies reporting to the EEOC and 56 percent in the CB Survey companies in 1975.

Generally speaking, there were very substantial changes in the employment of women in upscale occupations. In the officials and managers category, the companies with 50-100 or more employees increased the number of women they employed by 78 percent by 1975, but,



because there was also a 36 percent increase in the total number of managers they employed, this only increased the women's share of the managerial jobs from 16 percent in 1970 to 21 percent in 1975. The 38 very large companies in the CB Survey that are from female-intensive industries posted a 122 percent increase in the number of women managers and, because they, too, had a 35 percent increase in the total number of managerial jobs, this increased the proportion of women in management from 17 percent to 28 percent. In the professional category, gains of 84 percent and 56 percent in female employment brought the representation of women up from 13 percent to 20 percent in the EEOC companies and from 22 percent to 30 percent in the CB Survey companies.

Even larger changes occurred during this five-year period in the technician category, where increases of about 100 percent in the number of women led to improving women's share of these jobs from 17 percent to 29 percent in the companies with 50-100 or more employees and from 28 percent to 47 percent in the CB Survey companies. But for craft workers, the results were mixed. In companies reporting to the EEOC the women lost a little ground, dropping back from a 19 percent to an 18 percent share of these jobs. Yet in the very large, and probably atypical, companies in the CB Survey a 125 percent increase in the number of female craft workers raised their share of these jobs from 3 percent to 7 percent.

In all other occupational categories the women either increased their representation or held their own. The office-clerical category became even more segregated; despite a modest growth in its total employment, relatively small percentage increases (6 to 13 percent) in the number of women in this vast category served to increase the proportion of women to 86-88 percent of all clerical workers. Similarly, the proportion of women in sales jobs increased to 58-60 percent of the total. Despite declining employment, the women's share of the semiskilled operatives jobs moved up slightly (from 56 percent to 58 percent) in the companies reporting to the EEOC and substantially (from 29 percent to 38 percent) in the CB Survey companies. The share of laborers jobs held by women remained at about 45 percent in the companies with 50-100 or more employees, but increased somewhat to 33 percent in the very large companies. Female service workers increased in both sizes of companies; in 1975 they held 52 percent of all service jobs in the 50-100 plus employee companies and 40 percent of these jobs in the CB Survey companies.

In the case of the female-intensive industries even the most cynical observer would not be likely to write off the observed improvements in the job opportunites for women as being totally fictional. There was clear movement much closer to labor force parity in too many of the upscale categories in which substantial numbers of people were employed. This could be because it is easier to find more qualified women for these jobs; or because these employers continue to be more receptive to the idea of using female talents; or because these employers have had large numbers of women on their payrolls in lower level jobs and fear they are vulnerable to expensive backpay awards in class action lawsuits alleging employment discrimination; or because these particular industries have been growing; or for a whole host of other plausible reasons. Indeed, a number of sophisticated observers suggest they would be inclined to check a box indicating their answer to the question of "Why?" is "all of the above."

It is even tempting to consider that very large companies in the female-intensive industries may have done an especially effective job of improving job opportunities for women—possibly because they have felt some of the pressures mentioned above most keenly because they are so visible, and also because they have had the staff and the money to do the job most effectively. But because the CB Survey companies are not likely to be typical of all very large companies in female-intensive industries, our data cannot support this broad conclusion. At best we can say these *particular* companies seem to have made very real progress.

3. Nontraditional Jobs for Women

IN 1970, there were many whole occupational categories in various industries—as well as many relatively common, more specific jobs and job families—within the corporate sector that could clearly be classified as "nontraditional" areas for women, because they represented 10 percent or less of the work force. Many of these nontraditional occupational categories and jobs are in the male-intensive industries, and, consistent with the other patterns of change in male-female employment from 1970 to 1975 that have already been discussed, they have proved especially resistant to rapid change.

Nontraditional Occupation-by-Industry Categories

The accompanying matrices show the proportion of women in each occupation-by- industry category within the corporate sector. Those cells that are totally blank are ones in which women had 10 percent or less of the total employment; the color becomes progressively darker and then darker and grayer to show increasingly larger proportions of women in the work force. For example, the first grayish color indicates that the proportion of women employed is 26 to 35 percent—relatively close to the 31 percent overall representation of women in the corporate sector in 1970; and the next darker grayish color indicates that the proportion of women is 36 to 45 percent—relatively close to the women's 38 percent share in the total U.S. work force in 1970.[1]

In 1970, Census data (which in effect covers companies of all sizes) showed that out of a total of 52 occupation-by-industry categories there were 20 in which women represented 10 percent or less of the total number of employees, and these categories included 47 percent of all the male employees in the corporate sector but only 5 percent of the women. By 1975, CPS estimates show that the number of nontraditional categories for women had only dropped to 17, and they still included 42 percent of all male employees.

In the companies with 50-100 or more employees that reported to the EEOC, in 1970 out of a total of 74 occupation-by-more-specific industry categories where data were available and there was a significant population to count, there were 26 nontraditional categories for women. They included 39 percent of all the males and only 3 percent of all the females employed. By 1975, the number of nontraditional categories for women had dropped to 22, but they still accounted for 36 percent of all males employed in these companies.

Among the very large, but probably atypical, companies submitting matched employment data in the CB Survey, in 1970 there were 28 categories out of a total of 57 to be counted in the matrix that were nontraditional categories for women. They included 64 percent of the male employees, but only 6 percent of the women. By 1975 the number of nontraditional categories for women had dropped to 25, but they still included 59 percent of all the men employed.

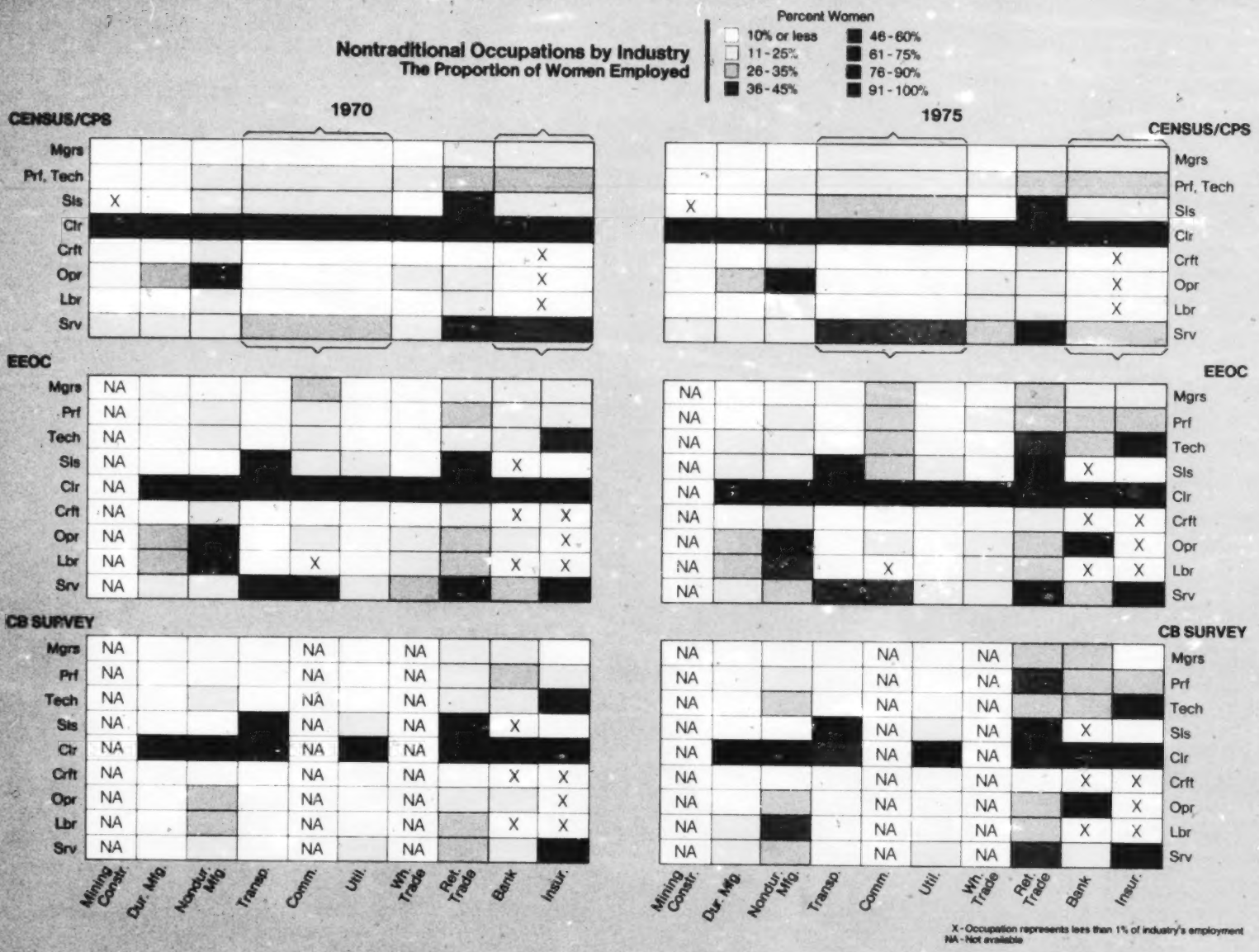
Thus, regardless of company size, by 1975 there had been a reduction in the number of occupation-by-industry categories from which women were virtually excluded. But, as the absence or lightness of color in so many categories in all three 1975 matrices attests, there was still much less than parity in the overall occupational distribution of men and women in the corporate sector.

Specific Nontraditional Jobs

According to the 1970 Census, there were literally hundreds of more specific kinds of jobs that could be characterized as nontraditional ones for women. Even when the list is limited to jobs in which women make up 10

[1] As in previous sections of the chartbook, several different sources of data have been tapped to provide a rough indication of what the situation was in 1970 and in 1975 in different sizes of companies. The industry and the occupational categories that can be presented are not always precisely the same; moreover, the CB Survey companies are not typical of all very large companies. Accordingly, for any given year—say, 1970—it is best merely to form overall impressions of the lightness or darkness of the three matrices that are presented and not to consider exactly how many cells of each degree of darkness there are in the three charts. But the 1970 and 1975 charts covering any particular size-of-company data are more directly comparable, and changes in the number of cells of different degrees of darkness between the two years can be used as relatively rough indicators of the amount of change that has occurred.

Nontraditional Occupations by Industry
The Proportion of Women Employed



X - Occupation represents less than 1% of industry's employment
NA - Not available

percent or less of the wo-k force and in which the total employment in the corporate sector in 1970 was around 30,000 or more, it still includes at least 82 different nontraditional jobs and job families. Furthermore, these nontraditional jobs represented a very important segment of the total employment within the corporate sector. Over half of all the men were employed in them, while only 4 percent of the women were.

The remainder of this section deals with the nature of these jobs and with how the representation of women in them had changed by 197! in 207 very large companies that responded to another section of the CB Survey. (Unfortunately, the year-to-year statistics collected by the CPS regarding male-female employment in these various jobs are not very stable.)

Sometimes a nontraditional job or job category is a common one in several different kinds of industries. For example, except in retail trade, the job of sales manager was a nontraditional one in all industries in 1970. (This does not mean of course, that all sales manager jobs are the same or that they all require identical qualifications.) But sometimes almost all the employment in a nontraditional job occurs in one particular kind of industry. For example, there were few brickmasons and stonemasons working outside the construction industry in 1970. And, again, sometimes a job is a nontraditional one for women in one industry but not in any others. For example, in 1970 it was only in durables manufacturing that there was 10 percent or less representation of women among the sizable number of purchasing agents and buyers. The accompanying table, showing 82 major nontraditional jobs for women within the corporate sector in 1970, takes such considerations into ac-

NONTRADITONAL JOBS FOR WOMEN IN 1970

Occupation	Percent Women
All Industries	
Managers and Administrators:	
Sales managers (except in retail trade)	3%
Professional, Technical Workers:	
Drafting technicians	7
Electrical and electronic technicians	6
Engineers	1
Craft Workers:	
Cabinetmakers	5
Carpenters	1
Electricians	2
Machinists	3
Mechanics and repairers	2
Painters, construction and maintenance	4
Plumbers and pipefitters	1
Sheetmetal workers and tinsmiths	2
Operatives (Including Transport):	
Delivery and route workers	3
Fork lift and tow motor operatives	2
Mine operatives	2
Truck drivers	1
Welders and flamecutters	6
Laborers:	
Freight and material handlers	7
Warehouse laborers	3
Service Workers:	
Guards (except in retail trade)	2
Janitors (except in finance and insurance)	8
Apprentices (all)	1
Within Broad Industrial Classifications	
A. Construction	
Managers and administrators—except sales managers (shown above) and except office managers	2%
Sales workers	10
Blue-collar worker supervisors	1
Brickmasons and stonemasons	1
Cement and concrete finishers	1
Excavating, grading and road machine operators	1
Roofers and slaters	1
Structural metal workers	1
Dry wall installers and lathers	1
Construction laborers	2

NONTRADITIONAL JOBS FOR WOMEN IN 1970 (continued)

Occupation	Percent Women
B. Manufacturing, Durable Goods	
Purchasing agents and buyers	9%
Other managers and administrators—except sales managers shown above) and except office managers	3
Designers	7
Operations and systems researchers and analysts	5
Sales representatives	5
Blue-collar worker supervisors (except in electrical machinery and equipment)	3
Crane, derrick and hoist operators	1
Job and die setters, metal	3
Millwrights	1
Pattern and model makers	4
Tool and die makers	2
Furnace tenders, smelters and pourers, metal	4
Grinding machine operatives	6
Lathe and milling machine operatives	5
Sawyers	8
Timber cutting and logging workers	2
Miscellaneous laborers in primary metal industries	2
C. Manufacturing, Nondurable Goods	
Managers and administrators—except sales managers (shown above) and except office managers—in industries other than apparel and other fabricated textiles, and printing and publishing	4%
Chemists	9
Blue-collar worker supervisors (except in textiles of all kinds, apparel, leather products, and printing and publishing)	6
Printing press operators	6
Mixing operatives	4
D. Transportation, Communications, Other Public Utilities	
Railroad conductors	1%
Managers and administrators in utilitiles and sanitary services—except sales managers (shown above) and except office managers	4
Airplane pilots	1
Meter readers, utilities	3
Shipping and receiving clerks	8
Blue-collar worker supervisors (except in communications)	2
Electric power line and cable installers and repairers	1
Inspectors	3
Locomotive engineers	1
Stationary engineers	1
Telephone installers and repairers	3
Telephone line installers and repairers	1
Railroad brake operators and couplers	1
Railroad switch operators	1
Taxicab drivers and chauffeurs	5
Longshore workers and stevedores	2
E. Wholesale and Retail Trade	
Managers and administrators in wholesale trade—except sales managers (shown above) and except office managers	5%
Retail managers and administrators—except sales managers, department heads and office managers—in:	
Gasoline service stations	3
Grocery stores	10
Motor vehicles and accessories	2
Pharmacists	9
Retail sales workers in motor vehicles and accessories	3
Sales representatives, wholesale trade	6
Shipping and receiving clerks, wholesale trade	8
Blue-collar worker supervisors, wholesale trade	6
Garage workers and gas station attendants	3
Meat cutters and butchers	5
F. Finance and Insurance	
Stock and bond sales agents	9

Source: 1970 Census of Population

count. The first part applies to all industries; the second part applies only within each listed broad industrial classification.

Apparently it is by no means easy to increase the representation of women in jobs where they constitute 10 percent or less of the work force. The accompanying table summarizes the CB Survey data with respect to companies reporting progress on nontraditional jobs that were common in several different industries. The overwhelming majority of the companies with more than ten employees in each of the nontraditional occupations reported no real improvement by 1975 over the situation reflected for women in the 1970 Census figures. Skilled blue- collar jobs appear to have been the most difficult to bring women into, along with semiskilled mine operative jobs, and jobs as truck drivers, welders and flamecutters, and apprentices. Only a handful of the companies reported that their 1975 work forces in these jobs included a larger percentage of women than the 1970 Census percentages. Similarly only a handful of the companies reported that they had been able to increase the proportion of women in these jobs by more than 1 percent of the total work force since 1970, for example, increasing the representation of women from, say, 3 percent to more than 4 percent. A greater number of successes were reported in moving women into such nontraditional jobs as sales manager, drafting technician, engineer, warehouse laborer, janitor and guard.

The successes reported in changing the representation of women in nontraditional jobs in specific industry classifications were even more scattered. The overwhelming ma-

COMPANY REPORTS ON EMPLOYMENT FOR SOME NONTRADITIONAL JOBS

		Of the companies with 10 or more such jobs:		
Occupation	*% Female Representation in 1970 Census*	*Those whose 1975 work force included more than the indicated % women*	*Those increasing the representation of women by more than 1% of the total work force since 1970*	*Base (Those companies with 10 or more such jobs in 1975)*
Managers and Administrators:				
Sales managers (except in retail trade)	3%	31%	38%	(179)
Professional, Technical Workers:				
Drafting technicians	7	15	27	(128)
Electrical and electronic technicians	6	10	17	(121)
Engineers	1	16	21	(153)
Craft Workers:				
Cabinetmakers	5	—	—	(17)
Carpenters	1	1	1	(89)
Electricians	2	2	2	(126)
Machinists	3	3	5	(116)
Mechanics and repairers	2	4	7	(151)
Painters, construction and maintenance	4	3	4	(121)
Plumbers and pipefitters	1	2	1	(102)
Sheetmetal workers and tinsmiths	2	—	—	(63)
Operatives (Including Transport):				
Delivery and route workers	3	11	11	(84)
Fork lift and tow motor operatives	2	7	11	(124)
Mine operatives	2	3	6	(35)
Truck drivers	1	2	3	(131)
Welders and flamecutters	6	3	2	(116)
Laborers:				
Freight and material handlers	7	12	14	(122)
Warehouse laborers	3	17	20	(132)
Service Workers:				
Guards (except in retail trade)	2	14	19	(119)
Janitors (except in finance and insurance)	8	28	18	(141)
Apprentices (all)	1	9	8	(99)

Source: CB Survey

jority of the companies had no such changes to report, but over a quarter of the companies in durable and nondurable goods manufacturing and in the transportation, communicatons and other utilities category, did report success in increasing the representation of women in their various nontraditional managerial and administrative jobs. More than ten nondurable goods manufacturing companies also reported progress over the 1970 figures for chemists and more than ten electric and gas utilities companies reported progress for women as meter readers. But for the rest of the long list of jobs shown on page 82 as being nontraditional, the available survey data offer no real reason to assume the employment picture for women was any different in 1975 than it had been in 1970.

However, in addition to reporting progress on the 82 nontraditional jobs listed on the CB Survey questionnaire, 77 companies indicated there were other, more specific kinds of jobs that had been nontraditional ones for women in their own organizations on which the proportion of women in the work force had increased by more than one full percentage point by 1975. (In a few cases the reported increases were in the 20-30 percentage point range.) Among the jobs mentioned by several companies were:

accountant
actuary or actuarial student
attorney
chemical process operator
computer programmer
computer systems analyst
data-processing machine operator
department head
insurance-claims adjuster
insurance-sales agent
insurance-sales representative
insurance-underwriter
internal auditor
investment analyst
marketing analyst
meter tester
personnel manager
physician
supervisor

Of course, there is no particular reason to asssume that the representation of women will ultimately end up at 30 to 40 percent of the work force for all nontraditional jobs. There are some of these jobs for which it is very difficult to develop a rationale as to why employment parity for men and women should not be achieved. But there are a number of other nontraditional jobs on which the greater height and more muscular physique of the average male might well put the average female at considerable disadvantage. Nonetheless, as the courts have noted in interpreting the nondiscrimination laws, this fact should not preclude those individual women who are interested and qualified for employment in these jobs from being hired. The goal of equal employment *opportunity* for women requires taking into account their changing qualifications, needs and desires; it does not, however, require forcing women to accept jobs they do not want or cannot perform well just to enable an employer to achieve some "magic" number.

Below is a complete listing of the charts and tables in the order in which they appear in this book. The letter designations in parenthesis following each title identifies the specific statistical source(s) of data for the chart. These sources are identified on page 6.

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